

## SOME CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES ON THE SOUTHERN SHORE OF THE SEA OF MARMARA

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AN important group of Byzantine churches and monasteries survives on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara, in the area delimited by the cities of Mudanya to the east and Bandırma to the west (fig. 1). This group comprises the church of the Archangels at Sige (or Syke), three miles west of Mudanya, two churches within the town of Tirilye or Tirilye (now renamed Zeytinbaşı), namely the Fatih Camii and the Kemerli Kilise, two monasteries in the vicinity of Tirilye, namely those of Medikion and Pelekete, and a number of lesser known sites between the Karadere (Rhyndacus) River and Bandırma, such as Malkara Üstü, Kurşunlu, Timanyo, Manastır (St. Anne) near Yenice, and Yenice itself. Of these latter sites, the ruined monastery to the west of the village of Kurşunlu is the most important and the best preserved. Finally, ruins of a fortress, possibly of late Byzantine times, are still standing at Çingyan Kale.

Of these monuments, the church of the Archangels has recently been the subject of a monograph;<sup>1</sup> the two churches at Tirilye were published with some illustrative material by F. W. Hasluck as long ago as 1906–7,<sup>2</sup> while the monasteries of Medikion, Pelekete, and Kurşunlu have been briefly described without plans or illustrations.<sup>2a</sup>

The materials presented here were gathered in the course of short excursions in 1968, 1971, and 1972, and concern mainly four of the above monuments, namely the Kemerli Kilise at Tirilye, the monasteries of Pelekete and Kurşunlu, and Çingyan Kale. The plans, measured in 1972, cannot claim complete accuracy since all four monuments are not

fully accessible to inspection: Pelekete is partly obstructed by chicken houses, the monastery of Kurşunlu and Çingyan Kale are almost completely overgrown,<sup>3</sup> while Kemerli Kilise was used in 1972 as a store of onions. We have not surveyed either the Fatih Camii or Medikion, but have found it advisable to set down here some brief notes concerning both of them.

### I. TIRILYE AND VICINITY

The earliest mention of Trigleia as a locality is probably of ca. 800 and concerns a μονή Τριγλείας.<sup>4</sup> Toward the middle of the eleventh century Michael Psellos speaks

<sup>3</sup> We are most grateful to the present owner of the monastery near Kurşunlu, Mehmet Köse (also known as Uzun Mehmet), who received us very cordially and who, aided by members of his large family, was kind enough to cut down some of the dense growth so as to expose the ruins of the church. Throughout our work, we were helped by the ingenuity of our chauffeur, Hasan Bıçkın. We also wish to thank Mr. Faik Manyas, of the office of the kaymakam at Karacabey, who provided us with a letter of introduction to the muhtar of the village of Kurşunlu. We were greatly assisted in our field work by Miss Marlia Mundell, who made a number of independent finds. At home, we very much profited from observations on the Kurşunlu inscriptions (cf. pp. 250–52 *infra*) which Dr. Thomas Drew-Bear kindly provided at our request. As we aimed at a summary publication, we made only partial use of these observations. We also wish to thank Miss Jo Peterson, who prepared the map for us, and Mlle Marie-Louise Concasty of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris for information concerning the provenance of two manuscripts.

<sup>4</sup> See *infra*, p. 238. The fullest, if somewhat unreliable, account of Tirilye is by Tryphon Euangelides, Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια (Athens, 1934). A few historical data have been collected by W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*. I. *Die Küstengebiete und die Wege der Kreuzfahrer*, Sitzungsberichte d. K. Akad. d. Wiss., Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl., 124, 8 (1891), 13.

<sup>1</sup> H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige near Mudania*, Byzantina Vindobonensia, IV (Vienna-Cologne-Graz, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> "Bithynica," *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 13 (1906–7), 285 ff.

<sup>2a</sup> On Dutlimani (Sykamia), see Additional Note *infra*.

of taking a ship at Trigleia in company with a monk whose conversation was anything but edifying.<sup>5</sup> No further references appear to exist until the latter part of the thirteenth century. When the Emperor Andronicus II resided at Lampsacus (1284), the purveyors of foodstuffs for his table made forays as far as Cius (Gemlik), Trigleia, and Elegmi (Kurşunlu between Mudanya and Gemlik) and confiscated chickens and piglets from the peasants.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time, with the development of maritime, especially Genoese, trade, Trigleia gained some prominence and, we assume, prosperity as an exporting center of wine and alum. The wine traffic is first mentioned in a Genoese document of 1284<sup>7</sup> and is confirmed by Pegolotti (ca. 1340).<sup>8</sup> *Vino Trillie* continued to be exported to Caffa as late as 1381–82,<sup>9</sup> by which time Trigleia was surely in Turkish hands. The alum was mined at Uluabat (Lopadion) at the rate of 10,000 quintals per year and taken by land to Trigleia, whence it was shipped.<sup>10</sup> As a result, Trigleia often appears in portulans and on early maps.<sup>11</sup>

It is not known when Trigleia was captured by the Turks. About the year 1317, when Prousa (Bursa) was being besieged by the Sultan Osman, the co-Emperor Andronicus III landed at Trigleia and was able to send

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 97, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexler, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, II (Milan, 1941), 125.

<sup>6</sup> Gregory of Cyprus, ed. S. Eustratiades in *Ἑκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 4 (1909), 13. Cf. V. Laurent, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I/4 (Paris, 1971), no. 1474.

<sup>7</sup> G. I. Brătianu, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa* (Bucharest, 1927), 172: *item Guillelmus de Varagine iperperos centum viginti novem quos portavit in Trigleia pro vino emendo*.

<sup>8</sup> F. Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 26.

<sup>9</sup> N. Iorga, "Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 4 (1896), 39, where the term "trillia" is incorrectly explained as "trellis," although Tomaschek, *Topographie* (as in note 4 *supra*) had already guessed its meaning.

<sup>10</sup> Pegolotti, *op. cit.*, 369. Cf. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge* (Leipzig, 1885), II, 566f.

<sup>11</sup> K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1909), 651; A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs* (Liège-Paris, 1947), 241, 285.

provisions to the beleaguered city.<sup>12</sup> It was still in Byzantine hands in 1337 when news was conveyed from there to Constantinople that a Turkish expeditionary force was about to attack the settlements on the northern shore of the Propontis.<sup>13</sup> Prousa had already fallen in 1326 and Nicaea in 1331; Nicomedia was captured in that same year 1337. It is not likely that Trigleia, which was unfortified, would have held out much longer. Yet, in 1379 we encounter a certain Myron, *ἱερομόναχος, ἑξαρχος Τριγκλείας*, at whose behest a manuscript of Harmenopoulos (now *Parisinus Graecus* 1387) was copied by a monk called Dionysios.<sup>14</sup> The title of exarch probably designates here a patriarchal representative charged with the supervision of monasteries.<sup>15</sup>

### 1. Fatih Camii

The building has not greatly changed since the days of Hasluck, whose sketch-plan we reproduce (fig. 9).<sup>16</sup> During the occupation of Tirilye by the Greek army (1920–22) it was converted into a church, and, says Tryphon Euangelides (a native scholar), "after the whitewash had been scraped off the walls, there appeared wonderful mosaics which I deeply regret I did not photograph for lack of film."<sup>17</sup> Today, traces of mosaic may be seen in the soffit of the south *tribelon*: it consists of very large cubes (about 0.02 m. square), alternately black and white, thus forming a checkerboard pattern.

The photographs we reproduce here (figs. 4ff.) will give the reader some idea of the present appearance of the building. The four columns of the atrium (fig. 7), capped by reused sixth-century capitals (fig. 8), appear to be standing in their original position.

<sup>12</sup> Cantacuzenus, *Hist.*, I.45, Bonn ed., I, 220. Cf. G. G. Arnakis, *Οἱ πρῶτοι Ὀθωμανοὶ* (Athens, 1947), 156.

<sup>13</sup> Cantacuzenus, *Hist.*, II.34, Bonn ed., I, 505.

<sup>14</sup> H. Omont, *Fac-similés des mss grecs datés de la Bibl. Nat. du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> s.* (Paris, 1891), 22. For the date see A. Jacob, "Quelques problèmes de comput," *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes*, N. S., 13 (1889), 119.

<sup>15</sup> See J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ὁφείκια de l'Eglise byzantine* (Paris, 1970), 127ff., 162f., etc.

<sup>16</sup> "Bithynica" (as in note 2 *supra*), 288, fig. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια (as in note 4 *supra*), 119.



Hasluck shows a molded door-frame inserted into the central intercolumniation.<sup>18</sup> The interior has been covered once again with a thick coat of plaster and whitewash which hampers a thorough examination of the structure. As for the carved ornament, it is easy to see that it belongs to at least two distinct periods. The large capitals of the columns, similar to those of the atrium, are reused (figs. 10, 11); on the other hand, the imposts placed upon these capitals, the cornice that runs around the interior of the church (fig. 13),<sup>19</sup> and the capitals of the south *tribelon* (fig. 14) are Middle Byzantine work, in all probability contemporary with the construction of the church. The most important clue as to the date of construction is provided by the monograms that were placed on the imposts of the two eastern columns, one on each side. These, unfortunately, have been destroyed so that we have to depend on Hasluck's copy (fig. 12).

Hasluck himself resolved the monograms in the following manner:

Northeast column: Κύριε βοήθει | τῷ δούλῳ  
Νη|κήτα | πατρικίῳ

Southeast column: Χριστὲ βοήθει | αὐλη-  
τικῷ | Μιχαήλ | πατρικίῳ.

He went on to suggest that Niketas the Patrician was the saint of that name who was active at the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth. Today, we know considerably more than Hasluck did about the career of Niketas the Patrician (d. 836),<sup>20</sup> and there is no indication that would connect him with a church or monastery at Trigleia. Furthermore, we are not at all convinced that the name Niketas appears in the monograms.

It is somewhat disturbing to note that B. A. Pančenko<sup>21</sup> (in 1910) read the inscrip-

<sup>18</sup> "Bithynica," 286, fig. 1 (1).

<sup>19</sup> The cornice is of two types. In the nave it has a palmette design, while in the bema and apse it is decorated with little arches alternating with darts. The latter type was extremely common in the fifth-sixth centuries. It is not clear to us whether these are reused pieces or a middle Byzantine imitation.

<sup>20</sup> See D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie du patrice Nicétas," Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation byzantines, *Travaux et Mémoires*, 3 (1968), 309ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*, 15 (1911), 276.

tions quite differently. After observing that both of them started with Κύριε βοήθει, he deciphered the northern one as . . . Στεφάνῳ πατρικίῳ, and the southern one as Μανουήλ . . . πατρικίῳ. Being unable to obtain a ladder, he could not read the second and seventh monograms. However that may be, Hasluck's interpretation raises certain difficulties. First, it is quite abnormal for the name Niketas to have been divided between two monograms. Second, the natural way of reading the inscriptions would have been from left to right in the order west—south—east—north, while Hasluck goes west—east—south—north, so that the Νη- of Niketas is to the right of the termination -κητα. Third, the word αὐλητικός, though it certainly existed in the Greek language, makes little sense in this context; nor is it known to us to have been used as a family name. Being unable to offer an entirely convincing alternative explanation, we must content ourselves with noting that the church was built or restored by, presumably, two patricians, one of whom was called Michael. It is also quite likely that the dedication was to Christ.

As to the Byzantine name of the monument, which appears to have been converted into a mosque in the sixteenth or seventeenth century,<sup>22</sup> there probably did not exist in the nineteenth century (when our documentation begins) any genuine local tradition. It has been called the church of St. Stephen<sup>23</sup> or the μονὴ τοῦ Χηνολάκκου.<sup>24</sup> The second is almost certainly incorrect. We do not know exactly where the μονὴ τοῦ Χη-

<sup>22</sup> The date remains uncertain. Euangelides, *Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια*, 32, gives it as 1661 (H. 1039), but on pp. 118–19 he reproduces in Greek translation the Ottoman inscription placed over the western door of the mosque which is dated by a chronogram to H. 969 (= 1562), assuming the latter has been correctly read and computed. The inscription is still extant.

<sup>23</sup> M. Kleonimos and Ch. Papadopoulos, *Βιθυνικά* (Constantinople, 1867), 43, 149; T. Euangelides, *Περὶ τινῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων βυζαντινῶν μονῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ*, in *Σωτήρ*, 12 (1889), 154; *idem*, *Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια*, 32. Hasluck, "Bithynica," 287; *idem*, *Cyzicus* . . . (Cambridge, 1910), 59, was told locally that Fatih Camii had been dedicated to the Annunciation.

<sup>24</sup> Euangelides (as in notes 4 and 23 *supra*). Hasluck rightly questioned this identification.

βολάκκου (made famous by the residence therein of the Patriarch Methodius) was situated, but in the early nineteenth century it was thought to have been at Mudanya.<sup>25</sup> The most natural identification would be with the μονή Τριγλείας whose abbot, St. Stephen the Confessor, suffered persecution in the reign of Leo V.<sup>26</sup> This monastery must have been founded, therefore, before the beginning of the ninth century. It does not appear among the signatures of one hundred thirty-three abbots and monks who attended the fourth session of the Council of 787, but that is not in itself significant since many of the monasteries in question are designated simply by their dedication, not to mention the obvious fact that not all monasteries sent representatives to the Council.<sup>27</sup>

Several early Byzantine pieces may be seen today in the immediate vicinity of the Fatih Camii. These include an impost capital, similar to those of the atrium and nave, that has been hollowed to serve as a trough (fig. 19), a couple of other capitals, one of them Corinthian (fig. 18), a sixth-century abacus block decorated with leaves (fig. 17), and three identical closure slabs, also of sixth-century date, one of which has been reused in the fountain to the west of the mosque (figs. 15, 16).

## 2. Kemerli Kilise (Panagia Pantobasilissa)

It is to the period of the commercial prosperity of Trigleia, namely the late thirteenth century,<sup>28</sup> that we should like to

<sup>25</sup> See C. Mango, "The Monastery of St. Abercius at Kurşunlu," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 22 (1968), 174 note 31.

<sup>26</sup> *Synaxarium CP*, ed. H. Delehay, 561, 12 (March 26); cf. 12, 5 (Sept. 3). This may be the abbot Stephen to whom Theodore of Studios wrote one letter in the reign of Michael II, *Ep.* II.139, *Patrologia Graeca*, 99, col. 1441. The synaxaria also record an ὁσιος Μάρκος ὁ Τριγλινός (Nov. 24): *Synaxarium CP*, 253, 52.

<sup>27</sup> For what it is worth, we may note the presence at the Council of 787 of the abbot of the monastery τοῦ Αὐλητοῦ (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XIII, col. 152C), which recalls Hasluck's αὐλητικός.

<sup>28</sup> The same date is advanced by S. Eyice, who devotes a few words to this church in his "Monuments byzantins anatoliens inédits ou peu connus," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, 18 (1971), 317.

ascribe the church of Panagia Pantobasilissa situated on an eminence in the western part of the town. Euangelides calls it the monastery of Trigleia,<sup>29</sup> but this is merely an uninformed guess. There is no indication that this was a monastic church. The earliest reference to it is made by Dr. John Covel (1676), who writes as follows:

There are many Turkes there [at Tirilye] and a pretty large Moschè [the Fatih Camii]; though y<sup>e</sup> Greekes exceed them in number, and have 5 or 6 churches, miserable places all, except one which they call Πανταβασίλισσα [*sic*], it being dedicated to y<sup>e</sup> V. M. It is but very small yet it is very pretty; it is antient yet very intire. The model is something of St<sup>a</sup> Sophia, that is if you leave out y<sup>e</sup> Isle ζ-λ [see fig. 2]. It hath a cupola built upon y<sup>e</sup> 4 pillars αβγδ, the rest is all arch't. It is made of stone and (most) brick. Y<sup>e</sup> floor hath been finely tessellated: in y<sup>e</sup> nave remaine many peices, one pane is very intire where I have here placed it, of black and white marble . . . . There were windores on y<sup>e</sup> S. side onely, and those onely at ε & ζ. The πρόθεσις π, ἄγιον βῆμα ς, σκευοφυλάκιον, χαρτοφυλάκιον χ, were all semicupolas and had lights in the skirts of y<sup>e</sup> cupola's. It had six pillars placed as in y<sup>e</sup> draught, gothick work, and round the side were pilasters. On y<sup>e</sup> outside to the west, are on either side y<sup>e</sup> door a shallow neech and over these are arches in y<sup>e</sup> wall from pilaster to pilaster, as the same is quite round. Wall at y<sup>e</sup> east end is built upon broken pillars layd flatt-wise, their ends jutting out into street; take it in y<sup>e</sup> whole and it seem's to me a very pretty model.<sup>30</sup>

Certain details concerning the history of the church in the nineteenth century are provided by Euangelides. He states that the dome and belfry (no longer extant) were damaged by the earthquake of November 10, 1855. The dome was restored and slightly altered in shape. The belfry was rebuilt in 1883, at which time a women's gallery was

<sup>29</sup> Σωτήρ, 12 (1889), 94f.; Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια, 15ff.

<sup>30</sup> British Museum, Add. MS 22912, fol. 266r.

added at the west end of the church, increasing the length of the building by 5.20 m. to a total of 18.60. Euangelides also mentions old wall paintings that were nearly effaced, a small panel of pavement mosaic consisting of black, white, and green cubes, and a wooden *templon* containing an icon of Sts. Michael and Gabriel signed χειρὶ Γερασίου Κρητός ,αφξθ' (1569), and another of St. John the Baptist dated 1767.<sup>31</sup>

Hasluck saw the same "panel of black, white and grey *opus sectile* pavement." He adds: "One of the columns supporting the dome—the north-eastern—is reputed to be of an artificial and semi-translucent stone: it is really of very ordinary granite. Many 'lords' have attempted (in vain) to steal it, as it contains gold. For this reason, presumably, I was forbidden to complete my measurements of the interior of the church."<sup>32</sup> Hasluck's ground plan is reproduced in figure 21.

Pančenko describes certain features of the columns that are not visible today because of the accumulation of earth inside the church. The first pair of columns from the east, he says, is placed not on bases, but on two capitals with chrisms, volutes, and acanthus; the second pair is set upon plainer capitals without volutes, decorated with acanthus and a rinceau. The third pair had plain octagonal plinths, as also the fourth pair (set up in 1883), which were capped by similar elements instead of capitals.<sup>33</sup>

The present condition of the building is illustrated in figure 22ff. While the nineteenth-century addition to the west is now a roofless shell, the original part has suffered comparatively little damage, except for the southwest column that has fallen down. The ground plan (fig. 20), which is fairly irregular, is essentially a cross-in-square, but has been extended by an extra pair of columns to the west. Originally, the church appears to have had no narthex. Part of its west facade, namely the northern of the two shallow niches noticed by Covel, is still standing and bears traces of painting, whose subject it is now impossible to determine (fig. 24). The columns and capitals are all

reused. The two easternmost columns and the south column of the second pair have similar Ionic impost capitals decorated with upright leaves, and their volutes with a diaper pattern (fig. 30). These may have come from the same sixth-century building as the abacus now lying outside the Fatih Camii (fig. 17). The northern column of the second pair, its shaft carved with a cross, has a fifth-century acanthus capital (fig. 28). Finally, the northern column of the third pair has a simple Ionic impost capital decorated only with crosses (fig. 29).

The masonry of the church is characteristic of the last phase of Byzantine architecture. It consists of single courses of brick (mostly irregular fragments) alternating with two courses of rubble, the individual stones being often separated by upright pieces of brick, somewhat in the manner of the *parement cloisonné* that is characteristic of Byzantine buildings in Greece.<sup>34</sup> The decorative treatment of the lateral blind arches of the north and south facades is also worthy of attention: the voussoirs, both stones and bricks, have been bevelled on the inner circumference. On the north side (but not on the south) these arches are outlined by a string of sawtooth (fig. 23), a feature very common in Greece, whereas it is unknown in Constantinople.<sup>35</sup> The apses have little projection on the outside (fig. 26). The central one has, above the window, three little niches decorated with a fan pattern (fig. 25). In the spandrels, between the niches, are brick crosses. The foundation of the main apse contains the column shafts that were noted by Covel.

The deterioration of the plaster on the walls of the interior has revealed two layers of painting. The upper layer, which is of very poor quality, is dated 1723 by an inscription that runs around an oval medallion containing a representation of Christ in a chalice in the central apse. It reads (the eucharistic formula is based on Matt. 26:27):

ΓΕΡΑΚΗΣ ΙΕΡ(Ο)Μ(ΟΝΑΧΟ)Σ ,ΨΚΥ ΠΙΕΤΕ ΕΞ  
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣΤΗ ΤΟ ΕΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ  
ΚΑΙΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΙΚΗΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΚ[ΧΥΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ].

<sup>31</sup> As in note 29 *supra*.

<sup>32</sup> "Bithynica," 292.

<sup>33</sup> *IRAİK*, 15 (1911), 276f.

<sup>34</sup> See G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), 225ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 268ff. ("cordon de dents").

Inside the medallion is a further dedication:

Ασπρις της δ[ουλῆς]  
του Θ(εο)υ· Φεσκ[...]  
κ(αι) των γωνεων.

Much more interesting is the lower layer which is in the Palaeologan style and should probably be dated before the occupation of Trigleia by the Turks, i.e., not later than the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The location of the surviving fragments is indicated on fig. 20. In the bema are small fragments of bishops dressed in their usual *polystauria*, who appear to have been moving towards the center of the apse. It should be noted that these bishops' figures are not contemporary with the construction of the church because they overlay the masonry fill blocking the narrow passages between the bema and the pastophoria (fig. 33).

In the north crossing, facing east, above the Corinthian capital, is a representation of Joachim's Offerings Rejected (figs. 31, 32). Joachim strides forward carrying a lamb in his veiled hands. Anna, who also appears to be carrying a lamb, turns back toward her husband. The surface of the painting is largely destroyed (except for Joachim's left leg) revealing the underdrawing. The figure of the high priest must have been placed around the corner, facing south. This is normally the initial scene in the cycle of the Infancy of the Virgin:<sup>36</sup> it is strange that it should here read backward, i.e., in an anti-clockwise direction with regard to the interior. The presence of the cycle confirms, in any case, the original dedication of the church to the Virgin Mary.

On the south wall of the southwest bay of the church is a gigantic figure of the archangel Michael, clad in an elaborate imperial costume with jeweled *loros*, holding a staff in his right hand and a transparent globe in his left (figs. 34, 35). In the lunette above St. Michael is an eight-pointed star: whatever it contained is no longer visible. On the north face of the pilaster to the right of Michael is a full-length figure of a beardless military saint, his right hand holding a raised, bared sword, his left leaning on a shield (fig. 36).

<sup>36</sup> See J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I (Brussels, 1964), 62ff.

Finally, in the westernmost bay of the church are a number of extremely damaged funerary portraits which indicate that the bay in question was used for burials like a narthex. On the south wall is a group or family portrait consisting of four shorter figures, the second from the east having his or her hands crossed over the breast, and, seemingly, two taller figures. The nineteenth-century window has amputated the heads of the "children" (fig. 38). On what remains of the west wall is the figure of a bearded monk wearing a cowl, his hands extended to the right, in the direction of another (holy?) personage (fig. 37). On the north wall is a beardless, possibly female, figure in ornate robes, hands extended to the right (fig. 39). This composition, too, was damaged by the insertion of a nineteenth-century window. All the early wall paintings are pitted so as to facilitate the adhesion of the subsequent coat of plaster. It is particularly regrettable that so little should have remained of the funerary portraits, which probably represented the local gentry of the fourteenth century. A campaign of restoration would certainly result in the recovery of many more paintings in the church.

### 3. The Monastery of Medikion

This monastery, situated about a quarter of a mile southwest of Tirilye, was originally dedicated to St. Sergius, but was later renamed τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων.<sup>37</sup> The change

<sup>37</sup> See Euangelides in Σωτήρ, 12 (1889), 155f., who describes the church as a big rectangle, "without columns or roof, like a *han* (χάνιον) that has been abandoned by the owner." He notes in the bema the date Μηνι Μαρτίῳ κγ' ἔτους Ζ'ΑΜΑ [*sic*], which must surely be ζ'ΑΜΑ, i.e., 1433. See also the same author's Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια, 50ff.; A. Hergès, "Les monastères de Bithynie. Médiçius," *Bessarione*, 5 (1898-99), 9-21; Hasluck and Pančenko quoted *infra*. The history of the monastery, which attained its peak in the early ninth century, and later belonged, by way of *charistike*, to Michael Psellos, has not been told in full. The references to Psellos have been collected by H. Ahrweiler, "Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 10 (1967), 25. Psellos himself describes the situation of the monastery, *Ep.* 125, ed. Kurtz-Drexler (as in note 5 *supra*), 149. An eleventh-century Gospel lectionary *cum syna-*

of name had already occurred by the eleventh century.<sup>38</sup> We paid a brief visit to the monastery in 1968, and that after dark, so we cannot give an eyewitness account of its remains—an omission we hope to repair on a future occasion.<sup>38a</sup> For the present, we should like to reproduce the description and sketch plan made of it by Covel,<sup>39</sup> who writes as follows:

On our way just at y<sup>e</sup> foot of the last hill to our left hand (about 1/4 of a mile out of y<sup>e</sup> Town) stands a little monastery; they call it ἅγιοι Πατέρες, in honour of y<sup>e</sup> Θεοφόροι πατέρες in y<sup>e</sup> council of Nice. There are belonging to it about 25 καλόγεροι; and there are round about the monastery vineyards, and plow'd grounds, and olive and fig trees all which these monkes cultivate with their own hands; none are exempt from labour but y<sup>e</sup> ἡγούμενος [*sic*] or prior, and some few preists. There were several young lads that came thither to learn to read. There is an old church there built long wayes, thus [follows the sketch plan: see fig. 2]. The top is ruinated, but again (in a poor manner) repaired and tiled, but I beleive heretofore it may have been arched. At y<sup>e</sup> bottome it hath been checker'd w<sup>th</sup> black and white marble, tessellato op(er)e; as yet some part of y<sup>e</sup> floore remaines.

Of particular interest here is the fact that the monastic church was of basilical shape. The south aisle had disappeared prior to Covel's visit; the north one was separated from the nave by a row of square piers. Covel may have been quite right in thinking that originally the church was vaulted. These architectural features are corroborated by

xarion with added Renaissance miniatures, now at Horsens (Denmark), once belonged to the monastery and contains an inventory of its books (very few in number) and liturgical furniture: J. L. Heiberg, "Ein griechisches Evangeliar," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 20 (1911), 507f.; O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien*, diss. Munich, 1954 (typewritten), 180f.

<sup>38</sup> See *infra*, p. 261.

<sup>38a</sup> See Additional Note at the end of the present article.

<sup>39</sup> British Museum, Add. MS 22912, fol. 266r.

Hasluck who saw the monastery in the early years of this century:

"The church itself stands in a court: it is a rough barn-like building with a long nave divided from the single (north) aisle by piers of masonry; the apse retains its semicircular seats. On the south side is a chapel with remains of a pavement in *opus sectile*. The interior of the church is not without impressiveness, due mainly to the gloom and the array of old gilded pictures on the screen."<sup>40</sup>

A few years later (1910), Pančenko noted: "The buildings of the present monastery are modern. The inscription above the entrance gate proclaims that in 1801 ἀνεκαινίσθη ἐκ βάρων ἡ παρούσα μονὴ τοῦ Μηδικίου. However, the church is in part (namely the chapel of Arabissa)<sup>41</sup> ancient and is remarkable for the mass of old icons [it contains]. This is a veritable storehouse or museum of Greek church painting..."<sup>42</sup>

In view of the archaic, basilical shape of the church, it would be important to know the date of its construction. Hergès suggests *ca.* 780,<sup>43</sup> which is nearly right for the foundation of the monastery, since it was already in existence at the time of the Council of 787.<sup>44</sup> It is stated, however, in the *Vita* of the founder, St. Nikephoros, that when he purchased from a commune of peasants the land on which the monastery was to be built, he found there a big dilapidated church of St. Michael, which he proceeded to restore.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> "Bithynica," 293.

<sup>41</sup> Pančenko goes on to describe some of the icons and manuscripts preserved in the monastery. Among the icons was one of the Παναγία Ἀράβισσα dated 1688, which accounts for the name of the chapel.

<sup>42</sup> *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 274f.

<sup>43</sup> As in note 37 *supra*, p. 11.

<sup>44</sup> Subscription of Nikephoros, ἡγούμενος τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου τοῦ Μηδικιῶνος: Mansi, XIII, col. 153A.

<sup>45</sup> F. Halkin, "La vie de S. Nicéphore fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 78 (1960), 413–14. This *Vita* presents a topographical difficulty which ought to be stated even if it does not admit of an obvious solution. It informs us (pp. 408–9) that Nikephoros received the tonsure at the monastery of Herakleios, whose abbot Joseph then dismissed him to one of his family estates situated west of Katabolos (κατὰ δυσμὰς τοῦ Καταβόλου) that he might purify his soul. Nikephoros founded a first monastery (on his estate?). When the number of his monks had

This church must have become the *katholikon* of the monastery, since it was in it, on the left-hand side of the narthex, that Nikephoros was buried a few days after his death on May 4, 813.<sup>46</sup> His successor, St. Niketas, was later buried in the same tomb.<sup>47</sup> If these indications pertain to the church that was still partly preserved in the early years of this century, it should be regarded as being considerably earlier than the 780's.

#### 4. *St. John the Divine of Pelekete*

The remains of this monastery, which played a prominent role in the iconoclastic period, are situated about three miles west

grown to twelve, he felt the need for larger quarters and moved to Medikion, which is described (p. 413) as being inland, but not far removed from the sea, from which it was 7.5 stadia distant, as it was also from the first monastery (ἀσκητήριον ἐν μεσογαίῳ τινὶ οὐ παρὰ πολὺ διειργόμενον τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς πρώτης μονῆς, ὥσπερ ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμῖσι σταδίους ἑκατέρωθεν διεκισμένον, Μεδίκην δ' ὀνομαζόμενον). A gloss contained in the older of the two manuscripts of the *Vita* informs us that 7.5 stadia were equivalent to one mile, which is, indeed, the actual distance from Medikion to the sea. On the other hand, the monastery of Herakleios is known to have been at Kios (Gemlik) and Katabolos was the name given to the coastal area immediately west of Kios: see K. Amantos in *Ἑλληνικά*, 6 (1933), 149–50; Mango, "The Monastery" (as in note 25 *supra*), 172; Papachryssanthou, "La vie" (as in note 20 *supra*), 319. Halkin (*op. cit.*, 408 note 3) tries to resolve the difficulty by postulating the existence of not only two, but even three monasteries of Herakleios, one at Kios, the second on the Bithynian Olympus, and the third 7.5 stadia inland from Medikion. For the second he refers to B. Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris, 1935), 156, who, however, merely mentions the existence of Byzantine remains at a place called Erikli Yayla (= "Plum Pasturage"). For our part, we are inclined to believe that there was only one monastery of Herakleios, namely at Kios. The distance between Kios and Trigleia is, however, about 30 kilometers as the crow flies, so that our hagiographer must be guilty of inexactitude or unclarity. On St. Nikephoros, see also F. Halkin, "S. Nicéphore de Medikion d'après un synaxaire du Mont Sinai," *AnalBoll*, 88 (1970), 13 ff.

<sup>46</sup> *AnalBoll*, 78 (1960), 424. Note that whereas this text gives the date of the demise as May 4, the *Vita* of St. Niketas has April 4 (Artemisios): *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana*, April, I, App., xxiii, chap. 24.

<sup>47</sup> *Vita* of Saint Niketas, xxvii, chap. 49.

of Tirilye on a slight eminence close to the seashore. Though briefly noticed in several fairly old publications,<sup>48</sup> these remains have never been adequately described and illustrated.

The identity of the monastery is not subject to serious doubt since it retained its name and continued functioning until the early part of this century. Today it is still known as Ay Yani. Furthermore, it was visited in 1676 by Covell who drew a reasonably accurate sketch-plan of its church (fig. 3), and gives the following account of it:<sup>49</sup>

About 2 1/2 mile beyond the town [of Tirilye] stands another monastery just upon y<sup>e</sup> sea over against Καλόλιμνο<sup>50</sup> upon y<sup>e</sup> bottom of y<sup>e</sup> cliff. It is dedicated to ἅγιος Ἰωάννης Θεολόγος, and call'd μονὴ τῆς πελεκατῆς [*sic*].<sup>51</sup> It is older they say then that of y<sup>e</sup> ἅγιοι Πατέρες.<sup>52</sup> There are 20 καλόγεροι there which labour and maintain themselves in like manner as the other, there being excellent fruitfull ground about them. There church is much in the forme of that at y<sup>e</sup> town (of Πανταβασίλισσα [*sic*]) onely there wants the W. isle. The square then is much bigger then the other, and y<sup>e</sup> cupola stand in a manner in y<sup>e</sup> middle. In y<sup>e</sup> sacristia on y<sup>e</sup> E. side y<sup>e</sup> Altar are rays'd three semicircular steps (I have seen ye like in y<sup>e</sup> monastery in y<sup>e</sup> seraglio in Brussa) aloft y<sup>e</sup> p(at)riarch sits and on y<sup>e</sup> rest his m(et)ropolitans and others, and I question not but this gave occasion to call y<sup>e</sup> whole place (over y<sup>e</sup> Altar) ἅγιον βῆμα. This monastery as also the other of y<sup>e</sup> ἅγιοι πατέρες are under y<sup>e</sup> p(at)riarch, he makes y<sup>e</sup> new ἡγούμενος, or rather sell y<sup>e</sup> place;

<sup>48</sup> Euangelides in Σωτήρ, 12 (1889), 275 f.; repeated with some additions in the same author's Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια, 35 ff.; A. Hergès, "Monastères de Bithynie," *Echos d'Orient*, 1 (1897–98), 274 ff.; Hasluck, "Bithynica" (as in note 2 *supra*), 293, and *Cyzicus* (as in note 23 *supra*), 61; Pančenko, *IRAİK*, 15 (1911), 271 f.

<sup>49</sup> British Museum, Add. MS 22912, fol. 266<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> On Kalolimno, also called Kalonymos (İmralı Adası), see Hasluck, "Bithynica," 301 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Above the line Covell wrote: "y<sup>e</sup> rock was cut & hewn plain (from thence [illegible word]) y<sup>e</sup> monastery set upon."

<sup>52</sup> The monastery of Medikion.

they are therefore cal'd σταυροπέδιον<sup>53</sup> as being founded by y<sup>e</sup> p(at)riarchs authority of w<sup>ch</sup> elsewhere.

There were many young lads which are sent thither likewise to learn to read and there were severall old women (καλογραιάδες) though they belong not to y<sup>e</sup> foundation, but come for severall uses and necessities; I spyed one handsome young woman wel clad but all in black, setting close in a corner talking w<sup>th</sup> a lusty young καλόγερο; at our coming they both vanisht; I askt who she was. They told me, a widdow who came to confession.

We had been informed that there were here many antient stones and old M.SS. but the deuce of one we met w<sup>th</sup> all; they have many old church bookes, but not one of any account in y<sup>e</sup> world. In this monastery of St. John in y<sup>e</sup> corner of y<sup>e</sup> court next y<sup>e</sup> sea, we goe down about 20 or 30 steps into a kind of a grotto, where is an ἱασμα,<sup>54</sup> y<sup>e</sup> water was very good, but in a manner lukewarme, yet they say in y<sup>e</sup> heat of sommer it is very cold; it lyes deep and runs w<sup>th</sup> a full pipe of 4 inches. To come and see this place in may or june must needs be exceeding pleasant.

The only modern author who has questioned the identity of the monastery is Father B. Menthon, who confidently places Pelekete farther inland, southwest of Tirilye, but he does not give any valid reason for his opinion.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Read σταυροπήγιον.

<sup>54</sup> Read ὀγίασμα.

<sup>55</sup> *L'Olympe* (as in note 45 *supra*), 37f., 44ff. The author asserts that "d'après les anciens textes," Pelekete was situated southwest of Tirilye. In that direction, a few hundred meters from the road leading from Tirilye to Uluabat (Lopadion), he found some shapeless ruins on a high platform, which he confidently identifies with the monastery. As to the church under discussion here, he says: "Le petit rectangle sans style, ressemblant plutôt à une pauvre mesure, que l'on montre au bord de la mer, non au sud-ouest, mais exactement à l'ouest de la bourgade, n'était jadis autre chose qu'un ermitage dépendant de cet illustre monastère; et il est même intéressant à visiter comme spécimen d'ermitage, car c'est le seul qui ait subsisté jusqu'à nos jours." On p. 45 he asserts once again: "Les traces de ce monastère

It has often been stated that the monastery of Pelekete was founded in 709.<sup>56</sup> For this we can find no authority other than that of the worthy Euangelides. The earliest mention of this monastery occurs, if we are not mistaken, in the *Vita* of St. Stephen the Younger. During his last incarceration in the Praetorium (hence, presumably, in 764) Stephen found himself in the company of three hundred forty-two imprisoned monks, among whom was Theosteriktos, the aged abbot<sup>57</sup> of Pelekete. This unfortunate cleric, whose nose had been cut off and whose beard had been burned by the iconoclasts, told the following story. On the previous Holy Thursday (hence either in 763 or 764), while he was celebrating divine service in his monastery, the notorious Lachanodrakon, "governor of the Asiatic land," broke in with a band of soldiers; he put thirty-eight monks in fetters, while others were flogged, burned or (like the abbot) had their noses amputated and their beards tarred and set on fire. Not content with this, Lachanodrakon had the entire monastery burned to the ground, including the stables and "the churches" (τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν). The thirty-eight arrested monks were conveyed to Ephesus and buried alive in the vaulted chamber of an ancient bath.

From this account it may be deduced that in the middle of the eighth century

retrouvées exactement dans la direction et à la distance marquées par les textes, la vaste étendue de ses ruines et la description détaillée des lieux donnée par l'auteur de la vie de S. Macaire, ne laissent pas subsister l'ombre d'un doute." The text he has in mind appears, therefore, to be the *Vita* of St. Makarios to which we shall presently turn. In fact, the *Vita* contains no statement whatever concerning the situation of Pelekete. It is Van den Gheyn, the modern editor of the *Vita*, who quotes Euangelides to the effect that Pelekete is southwest of Tirilye at a distance of three quarters of an hour: *Anal Boll*, 16 (1897), 141. Yet Menthon uses this very statement to refute Euangelides!

<sup>56</sup> This date has been repeated in all subsequent literature down to H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 210.

<sup>57</sup> He is called πρεσβύτερος καὶ γηραιός τοῦ εὐαγοῦς φροντιστηρίου τῆς Πελεκητῆς (PG, 100, col. 1164D), but the synaxaria designate him as ἡγούμενος: *Synaxarium CP*, 496, 46.

<sup>58</sup> PG, 100, cols. 1164D–1165D.

Pelekete was a large establishment with upward of forty monks and more than one church. There does arise, however, the following difficulty: Michael Lachanodrakon, whose iconoclast zeal is well known, was governor of the Thrakesian theme,<sup>59</sup> while Pelekete (unless we are dealing with another monastery of the same name) was clearly in the theme of Opsikion. Would the energetic *strategos* have made a raid on a neighboring theme, and this by imperial command?<sup>60</sup> We are content to pose the question. As for Theosteriktos, his subsequent fate is not recorded. His memory is celebrated on February 17.<sup>61</sup>

It has been maintained that Theosteriktos was succeeded by St. Hilarion, whose memory is celebrated on the 27th or 28th of March. This is merely a guess. All we can say concerning Hilarion is that the *Canon* in his honor was composed by Joseph the Hymnographer (816–66); and the only piece of concrete information we can extract from the *Canon* is that Hilarion's tomb performed miracles.<sup>62</sup> Nor is it at all certain that the abbot Mark of the monastery of St. John Theologos who attended the Council of 787<sup>64</sup> was abbot of Pelekete.

Toward the end of the eighth century Pelekete found a worthy abbot in the person of St. Makarios, whose *Vita* was written by his disciple Sabbas.<sup>65</sup> From this rhetorical

and rather vacuous document we can glean the following facts. Makarios (whose secular name was Christopher) was born of good family at Constantinople. He lost his parents at an early age and was brought up by an uncle. His education completed, he retired to a modest room near a church whose priest became his only companion. Since he manifested a desire for the monastic life, the priest directed him to Pelekete, which the young man found to his liking. At this point the biographer inserts a brief descriptive passage which may be rendered, more or less, as follows: "A rock rises to a height on both sides and is reached by a single ascent which is not easy. Standing on higher ground than all the adjoining valleys, it enjoys a purer air; and it is smooth all around and well-turned as if (?) hewn with an axe."<sup>66</sup> Here, then, we have the etymology of the name Pelekete; its appropriateness is today difficult to judge since the bluff on which the monastery is built is thickly overgrown.

Christopher was readily admitted by the community. A monk named John instructed him in the monastic rule, while the abbot (unnamed) set him to copying books. So good was his progress, that he was unanimously chosen to receive the tonsure and was renamed Makarios. Eventually, he was promoted to *oikonomos* and, soon thereafter, to abbot. At the same time he began to acquire powers of healing. He cured of a lingering disease the patrician Paul, who was governor of the district—to be identified with Paul, patrician and *comes* of Opsikion, who suffered a defeat at the hands of the Arabs in 799.<sup>67</sup> He also healed at Constantinople Paul's wife as well as the wife of another patrician called Theognostos. His fame reached the Patriarch Tarasios (784–806), who conferred upon him the diaconate. After returning to his monastery, Makarios performed further miracles: he cured a para-

<sup>59</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I, (Leipzig, 1883), 440,27, and 446 for the extirpation of monks from the Thrakesian theme.

<sup>60</sup> PG, 100, col. 1165A: τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσει.

<sup>61</sup> *Synaxarium CP*, 470,17; cf. 496,46 (Feb. 29).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 564,6; cf. 565,37, 573,33; M. Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν ἱστοριολόγιον* (Constantinople, 1899), 87.

<sup>63</sup> The *Canon*, which has the acrostic Σοῦ τοῦς ἱεροῦς αἰνέσω τρόπους, πάτερ. Ἰωσήφ, may be found in the *menaia* under March 28, and extracts from it in PG, 105, col. 1085. Cf. *ActaSS*, March, III, 728–30.

<sup>64</sup> Mansi, XIII, col. 153D.

<sup>65</sup> Ed. Van den Gheyn, *AnalBoll*, 16 (1897), 140ff. This Sabbas should be distinguished from his homonym who wrote the *Vitae* of St. Ioannikios and St. Peter of Atroa. See V. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse de S. Pierre d'Atroa*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 29 (Brussels, 1956), 16–17, and H. Loparev, "Vizantijskija žitija svjatyh VIII–IX vekov," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 18 (1911), 137ff.

<sup>66</sup> Ed. Van den Gheyn, 145,5. The text, as printed, appears to be in need of emendation: εἰς ὕψος μὲν γὰρ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν ἦρται πέτραι [πέτρα?] μίαν τὴν ἀνοδὸν, καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἀμοχθὸν ἔχουσα, ἀνωκισμένη [ἄνω κειμένη?] δὲ πάντων πρὸς αὐτὴν κοίλων, ἀκραιφνέστερον τὸν ἀέρα εἰσδέχεται λεία τε τὰ περίξ τυγχάνουσα καὶ εὐτορνος πελεκητήν [read πελεκητή or ὡσπερ πελεκητή].

<sup>67</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, I, ed. de Boor, 473,29.



lytic boy and caused rain to fall in a time of drought while performing a procession to a neighboring shrine of the Prophet Elijah.<sup>68</sup>

Upon the outbreak of iconoclasm (in 814 or soon thereafter) Makarios was summoned to Constantinople. John the Grammarian (Iannis) tried in vain to convert him to the iconoclastic doctrine. Makarios was imprisoned and then exiled, somewhere in the area of the Bosphorus. After the murder of Leo V (820), he enjoyed a brief respite and spent some time with the exiled Patriarch Nikephoros.<sup>69</sup> He also began building a monastery at the place of his former banishment, i.e., "at the straits of the Propontis." It is implied by the *Vita* that he did not return to Pelekete. After the accession of the Emperor Theophilus, Makarios was once again arrested and imprisoned; while in jail he converted a Paulician heretic, one of a group of Paulicians who had been condemned to death. He was then exiled to the small island of Aphousia close to Prokonnesos,<sup>70</sup> where he caused a church to be built and where he eventually died (August 18, year unknown). His tomb, constructed by his disciples Dorotheos and Sabbas, remained on Aphousia and performed many miracles. In the concluding paragraph, Sabbas (who is the biographer) intimates that he succeeded Makarios as abbot, perhaps of the monastery on the Bosphorus, and not necessarily of Pelekete, as has usually been assumed.

The meager data furnished by the *Vita* may be to some extent supplemented from the correspondence of St. Theodore of Studios. Theodore wrote five letters to the "abbot Makarios," all of which fall in the

<sup>68</sup> As noted by Van den Gheyn, 152 note 1, Euangelides in Σωτήρ, 12 (1889), 279, postulates the existence of a monastery of St. Elias between Trigleia and Sige. Even if this is not a figment of the Greek author's imagination, it need have no connection with the church mentioned here.

<sup>69</sup> The Patriarch was at the time dwelling in the monastery of St. Theodore on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. See J. Pargoire, "A propos de Boradion," *BZ*, 12 (1903), 476; P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958), 148.

<sup>70</sup> On this island see M. Gedeon, Προικόννησος (Constantinople, 1895), 58ff., and, on the exile of Makarios, *ibid.*, 71.

period ca. 815–18.<sup>71</sup> At the time Makarios was under arrest or in exile, and Theodore encouraged him to persevere in the right faith. The extremely respectful tone in which these letters are couched—Theodore calls himself the "son" of Makarios and addresses the latter as "father"—may suggest that Makarios was the elder of the two, i.e., that he was born before 759. Another letter, addressed to Ignatius, bishop of Miletus, cites Makarios of Pelekete as one of a few abbots who had not succumbed to iconoclasm.<sup>72</sup> Finally, a letter addressed to the "brotherhood of Pelekete" (probably dating from ca. 823–24) informs us that the community, finding itself leaderless after the death of its abbot—hence surely not Makarios, who lived on after 829—had elected a certain Sergius, apparently an anchorite, since he is described as "coming down from a hole in the rock." Theodore approves the election provided Makarios does not object, and pending the return of normal conditions when the matter can be settled more canonically. He then exhorts Sergius to keep to correct doctrine and hints that there had been some defection in the community.<sup>73</sup> The nature of this defection is explained a little more clearly in another letter addressed to the abbot Sergius (presumably the same). His predecessor had "fallen" and dragged down with him the whole community. Theodore's advice is not to disperse the monastery, but rather to strengthen it by the strict observance of orthodox doctrine.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> See C. Van de Vorst, "Note sur S. Macaire de Pélécète," *AnalBoll*, 32 (1913), 270–73. The letters in question are in A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VIII (1871), nos. 87 (815–16), 151 (summer-autumn 816), 262, 271 (probably 818); and *Ep.* II.20, PG, 99, col. 1177ff. (late 816–early 817). On the dates see A. P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen Studijskij*, II/1 (Odessa, 1914), 272f., 318f., 386f., 391f. In Mai, no. 38, p. 31 (letter to Naukratios dating from 815–16), Theodore mentions two former monks of Pelekete (not *lignorum olim caesores* as the Latin translation renders it!) who appear to have joined the Studite community.

<sup>72</sup> Mai, *op. cit.*, no. 188, p. 160. Cf. Dobroklonskij, *op. cit.*, 334ff.

<sup>73</sup> *Ep.* II.146, PG, 99, col. 1457ff. Cf. Dobroklonskij, *op. cit.*, 480f.

<sup>74</sup> *Ep.* II.179, PG, 99, col. 1553ff. Cf. Dobroklonskij, *op. cit.*, 490ff.

From the above data we may draw the following conclusions. First, the monastery was certainly rebuilt after its destruction: this may have happened in the last two decades of the eighth century. Second, upon the removal of Makarios *ca.* 815, another abbot (unnamed) was appointed and fell into heresy. The latter died *ca.* 823 and was succeeded by Sergius. These circumstances explain why Makarios did not return to Pelekete in the reign of Michael II (820–29), but instead set up a new monastery to which he may have attracted some of his former disciples.

Theodore's exhortations appear to have borne fruit for, in the reign of Theophilus, Pelekete (described as a "very big monastery") became once more a center of opposition to iconoclasm, and its monks refused communion with the Patriarch—probably Antony I (821–37). This came to the attention of the Emperor, who directed the *spatharios* Kallistos to proceed to Pelekete and have the "panel-worshipping" monks (σανιδόπιστοι) scourged and expelled if they persisted in opposing the imperial doctrine. Kallistos (who later died for the faith together with the Martyrs of Amorium in 845) did not answer the imperial command.<sup>74a</sup> At this point the Byzantine history of Pelekete comes to an end.

We pick up the story again in the seventeenth century. There exist four patriarchal *sigillia* referring specifically<sup>75</sup> to the monastery of St. John the Divine of Pelekete. These are dated 1658, 1788, 1794, and 1797, respectively, and they confirm the autonomy and "stauropegiac" status of that monastery, i.e., its direct dependence on the Patriarchate and not on the metropolitan of Prousa. Of these documents the last three have been published in full. The *sigillion* of 1658<sup>76</sup> (as

<sup>74a</sup> *Skazaniia o 42 Amorijskikh Mučenikah*, ed. V. Vasil'evskij and P. Nikitin, *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VIII<sup>e</sup> sér., Cl. Hist.-phil., VII/2 (1905), 25 and comment on p. 156.

<sup>75</sup> K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 3 (Venice, 1872), 587, cites a *sigillion* of 1652, *περί τῶν χωρίων Τριγλίας καὶ Ἐλεγκῶν, ὅτι σταυροπήγια εἰσι, καὶ οὐχὶ ὑποκείμενα τῷ Προύσῃ*, but it is not clear whether this refers to the monastery of Pelekete or to that of Medikion, or to both.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 594 (text not given); cf. M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί πίνακες* (Constantinople, 1890), 588.

summarized in those of 1788 and 1794) related that a certain Arsenios of Triglia had found the monastery in a ruined condition, repaired it, endowed it with fields, vineyards, and olive groves, and constituted a *koinobion* there. In order to preserve its independence, he placed it under the direct control of the Patriarchate, to which the monastery was obligated to deliver seven *okes* of oil annually.<sup>77</sup> This was the situation encountered in 1676 by Covel who, as we have seen, found twenty monks in residence. The provisions of the *sigillion* of 1658 were partly upset by that of 1788 which placed the monastery under the supervision of the Kaminars<sup>78</sup> Antonios and Demetrios. So disastrous was the interference of these two archons, that the brotherhood made an appeal to the Patriarchate and obtained the *sigillion* of 1794 which re-established the *status quo ante*, including the payment of seven *okes* of oil.<sup>79</sup> Finally, in 1797, the Patriarch Gregory V, as part of his general policy, reaffirmed the "stauropegiac" rights of the monastery, but commuted its annual dues to sixty piastres.<sup>80</sup> As we shall see presently, the church of the monastery was severely shaken by earthquake in 1855 and rebuilt the following year. It was burned in 1880 and restored to some extent thereafter.

Turning next to the architectural form of the church, we may begin by observing that in Covel's time the structure was still entire except for the narthex. The following eyewitness accounts dating from the end of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries add a few specific details.

*Euangelides* (whose recollections or notes dated back to the 1880's):

<sup>77</sup> T. Euangelides, *Πατριαρχικὸν σιγίλλιον*, in *Ξενοφάνης*, 1 (1897), 333–36; D. A. Zakythenos, *Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικά έγγραφα*, in *Ἑλληνικά*, 6 (1933), 141.

<sup>78</sup> Officials of the Phanariot régime in Romania who were responsible for the collection of taxes on alcoholic beverages and tobacco.

<sup>79</sup> Ed. Zakythenos, *Ἀνέκδοτα*, 140ff.

<sup>80</sup> Ed. with some serious mistakes by D. A. Petrakakos, *Ἀνέκδοτον σιγίλλιον Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ε'*, in *Ἑκκ.Φάρ.*, 3 (1909), 94ff., from a manuscript at Andreaskiti, Mount Athos. Cf. P. G. Zerlentes in *Νέος Ποιμὴν*, 2 (1920), 243. Euangelides, *Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια* (as in note 4 *supra*), 133, claims to have found the same *sigillion* in 1887 in the hay barn of the Medikion monastery.

There remain [of the original structure] only the marble pavement, a few capitals and column bases inserted into the walls during the rebuilding. After so many centuries, the church has become a small rectangle lacking any style and resembling an ordinary poor building. Around the church is a courtyard with cells in which the abbot and monks reside.

He then mentions the fire of 1880 and adds that, following this, the monastery was not repaired in any way.

"Today, there are preserved in it only a small box with holy relics and a bucranium immured in the outer wall on the right-hand side.<sup>81</sup>

*Hasluck* (who travelled in the area in 1902-6):

It [the church] is now a poor modern building, having been damaged and repaired after the earthquake of 1855 and burnt and rebuilt in 1880: a fair amount of old detail, including fragments of a marble pavement, a Byzantine cornice, and some old capitals, has been used in the reconstruction. It is tenanted by a single priest. A rock-hewn hermit's cell near the church explains the name of the monastery.<sup>82</sup>

*Pančenko* (1910):

At one hour's walk from Triglia is situated the monastery of St. John the Divine τῆς Πελεκητῆς. The church stands in the middle of a rectangular courtyard formed by residential structures with wooden galleries, and is itself new, as may be seen from the inscription over the entrance:

Ὁ πανδαμάτωρ χρόνος ὁ τρόγων πάντα  
τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον ἐφείσθη θαυμασίως·  
ὁ σεισμός ὁμως ὁ τρομερὰ συμβάντα  
τῇ Προύσῃ προξενίσας πανολεθρίως,  
5 κατέστρεψε καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ θεμελίων,  
σορὸν αὐτὸν ποιήσας, φεῦ, ἐρειπίων.  
ὁ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα τοῦ ἡγουμένου ἱῆλος  
καὶ προθυμία καὶ συνδρομὴ ἐνίων

<sup>81</sup> Βρύλλειον-Τρίγλεια, 39. On p. 40, however, he speaks of three reliquary boxes.

<sup>82</sup> "Bithynica," 293; cf. *Cyzicus*, 61 (as in notes 2 and 23 *supra*).

ὑφοῦται ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἐδραίως [*sic*] στύλος  
10 καὶ ἰδοὺ· ἐγείρων ἐκ τῶν ἐρειπίων  
ἀνεγέρθη [*sic*] κατὰ μῆνα Ἀπρ. 1856.<sup>83</sup>

However, both in the church and near it are antiquities of the Byzantine period. The apse and the two columns next to the sanctuary are ancient. The capital closest to the sanctuary is identical with one that stands today next to the entrance of the church. The latter measures 0.70 m. between its volutes—the normal size of big capitals. . . . The acanthus leaves form one row, and each has three points and two longitudinal grooves. The four volutes come together at an acute angle; in the center of the arc-like depression between them there is, on each side, a rounded-off projection. Between the pylon of the triumphal arch and the closest column is inserted or lies *in situ* an ancient marble cornice with rosettes. Outside, in front of the entrance is immured a fragment of a marble frieze consisting of two bands: a horizontal branch with leaves and, underneath, a row of parallel acanthus leaves, pointing down and placed diagonally with respect to the branch.

The most important object in the church is a carved wooden iconostasis in two storeys. The carving is very complex and meticulous, especially on the half-colonnettes; the ornament is everywhere vegetal, consisting of different types of acanthus. A carved wooden throne is decorated with an acanthus-like vine.<sup>84</sup>

In recent years the ruins of the monastery have been used as a chicken farm, but today (1972) they are deserted except for two savage watchdogs. Chicken houses in various stages of dilapidation obscure much

<sup>83</sup> These feeble verses may be rendered as follows: "Time, the all-subduer, who consumes everything, had miraculously spared this church. Yet, the earthquake which caused such dreadful events at Prousa, destroyed it, too, down to the very foundations and made it, alas, into a heap of ruins. The abbot's zeal for things divine, the eagerness and the contributions of certain men have risen up like a stout pillar—and behold: raised from ruin, it has been erected in the month of April, 1856."

<sup>84</sup> *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 271f.

of the interior and the exterior north wall of the church. Otherwise, the architectural features of the building are more clearly revealed than they must have been in the days of Hasluck and Pančenko.

The church forms a rectangle measuring on the outside roughly 15×12 m. (fig. 40). The eastern end is original and stands to the full height of the bema vault; the rest was rebuilt in the nineteenth century, but follows the lines of the Byzantine walls. The narthex, which disappeared prior to Covel's visit, must have communicated with the nave by means of three doors: the northern jamb of the north door together with part of the arch it subtended are still plainly visible in the west façade, the rest of the west wall being modern (fig. 41). The south wall (fig. 42) is also modern, except for traces of ancient construction that may be seen at its base along a stretch of 4 m. starting at the southwest corner. The two side apses, which must have been semicircular, have been cut off, on the outside, along a straight line.

The central apse was lit by three windows, but the two lateral ones have been walled up. Each one has a brick arch of two voussoir rings (fig. 43). Traces of the synthronon are still observable. The pastophoria are covered by domical vaults as are also the corner bays of the nave. The north and south walls of the nave appear to have had wide openings in the form of *tribela*, as in the Fatih Camii of Tirilye (fig. 9) whose ground plan shows considerable similarity to that of Pelekete. Note, next to the northeast pier, the springing of an arch of narrow span which would have been appropriate to a *tribelon* (fig. 46). Of the four columns that once supported the dome (whose approximate diameter was 4 m.) only the southeast one remains in place.

The Byzantine construction exhibits five consecutive courses of brick (height of five courses and five joints, 0.57 m.) alternating with four courses of roughly squared stones (height of four courses and three joints, 0.75 m.) The bricks measure 0.34 to 0.39 m. in length and 0.05 m. in thickness. The mortar joints are 0.065 m. thick and have been wiped flush with the vertical surface of the walls.

Among the carved elements, we may notice, first, the southeast column (fig. 47). Both its shaft, which is decorated with a cross in low relief, and its capital are spolia. The capital (fig. 49), which is of the fine-toothed acanthus type, may be dated to the middle or second half of the fifth century.<sup>85</sup> Another large capital with four volutes, but of somewhat different form, lies buried next to the north wall of the nave. Imbedded into the projecting corner above the southeast column is a richly carved cornice of the Early Byzantine period. It has a wave pattern on its cimatum, different leaf forms on the modillions and rosettes between the modillions (fig. 48). Fragments of a similar cornice may be seen in the corresponding position on the north side of the church (fig. 45). The continuation of this cornice into the bema and apse is, however, plain and dates from the construction of the church. The door leading from the bema into the diaconicon has a molded marble frame (fig. 51) next to which there remains *in situ* a piece of molded skirting, an indication that the church was once reveted with marble. In the apse of the prothesis a piece of late antique cornice decorated with a wave motif and modillions has been reused to form a shelf (fig. 52). Lying loose in the apse is a chancel slab of the fifth or sixth century decorated with three crosses, the central one in a circular medallion, the two lateral ones poised on curving shoots of ivy (fig. 50). Outside the church we have found two small impost capitals decorated with crosses (figs. 53, 54). Finally, built into the south wall of the church are two fragments of a late Roman sarcophagus or frieze with ox and ram's heads and a garland (figs. 55, 56).

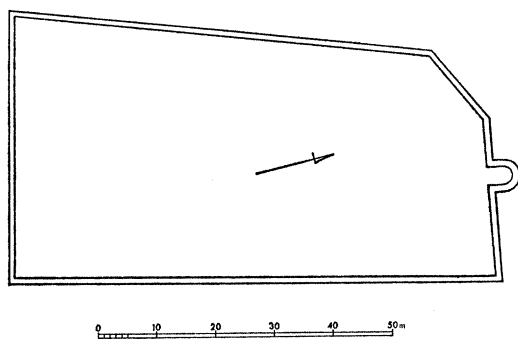
## II. KURŞUNLU AND VICINITY (fig. 60)

### 1. Çingyan Kale

Çingyan Kale (the forms of the name vary: we heard it pronounced as "Çingyen," "Tsingyan," or even "Çingene" Kale, i.e., Gypsy Castle) is situated near the highest point of the Karadağ range about fourteen

<sup>85</sup> It is quite similar to those of the nave of the Acheiropoietos at Thessalonica: R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936), 134 and pl. 26, no. 432.

kilometers southwest of Plaj (Yeniköy), and at 54 degrees south of east, measured from the mosque in the village of Kurşunlu. It is accessible only by forest roads, and the ascent by Land Rover takes about an hour. Today, the castle is hidden by substantial brush growth and large old trees, some of them growing out of its walls (fig. 59), but originally it had a view of the sea and the coast below. It is trapezoidal in shape, with the northwestern corner cut off at an angle (text fig. A). In places, its walls rise to a



A. Çingyan Kale. Approximate Plan

height of about 8 m. above ground level on the outside, and about 3 m. on the inside. The construction is of rubble, with some regularly hewn stones visible on the inner face of the walls, especially in the northwest corner. The north wall has a rounded tower, which points to the existence of a gate, probably to the east of it. The gate may have been flanked by another tower, of which only rubble traces remain at present. The east side of the enclosure is about 85 m. long, and the average thickness of the enclosure is 1 meter.

The name Çingyan or Tsingyan Kale reminds one of Sigriane, the Byzantine name of the mountain range on which it is situated. This name points back to a hypothetical form *Kastron tes Sigrianes*, and to Byzantine times. However, it would be too risky to date this fortress by its name alone. Among the rubble inside, we found some marble fragments and a brick, about 0.02 m. thick. The latter find could be of the Late Byzantine or Early Turkish period.

It is no less difficult to determine the purpose of our fortress. As it occupies a commanding spot on top of the range, it

could have been an observation post or a place of refuge for those who were being attacked from the sea. We are inclined to connect Çingyan Kale's construction or at least its use with the wars which the Latins of Constantinople and the Byzantines of Nicaea waged in the area between Lampsacus (Lapseki) and Lopadion (Uluabat) during the reigns of Theodore Laskaris and John Vatatzes. In 1233, to give an example, the Latins raided the seacoast reaching from Lampsacus as far east as the area of Cyzicus, while the Emperor occupied the foothills of the mountain, i.e., the coastal range. The Latin raid was of little avail, because, as Akropolites tells us, the Emperor "had anything that was useful stored in places that were higher up."<sup>86</sup> Çingyan Kale may have been one such stronghold.

## 2. Village of Kurşunlu

In the village of Kurşunlu, the most interesting spot in terms of antiquities is the house of Bay Lokman Kasar on the west edge of the village.<sup>87</sup> In the back yard of the house, near the back door, there are remnants of an *opus sectile* pavement, apparently of a church, *in situ*. It is not clear whether the church to which the pavement belonged is that of St. Demetrios, the foundations of which were seen and briefly described by Pančenko in 1910. According to him, the sanctuary stood on a "steep rock," while Lokman's back yard blends into a corn field without a noticeable break. On the other hand, Pančenko saw fragments of an altar screen having three crosses with flaring ends on the site of St. Demetrios, and at Lokman Bey's we recorded a fragment of a similar screen having one cross with flaring ends (fig. 76).<sup>88</sup> To be sure, even if our fragment is a part of Pančenko's altar screen, it could have been transported to Lokman's house after 1910.

<sup>86</sup> *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, I, Teubner (1903), 47, 16–25.

<sup>87</sup> On the capital used at the fountain in the center of the village, cf. p. 257 and fig. 118 *infra*.

<sup>88</sup> Pančenko in *IRAİK*, 15 (1911), 270: on account of its location on a rock, the church of St. Demetrios had only one lateral aisle; length of the central nave up to the apse: 24 paces; width of nave and aisle: 9 steps. Measurements of the altar screen: 12.54 (?) × 0.84 m.



3: The restoration of ἐν Νεικο[μηδεῖα] is plausible, since there were games in neighboring Nicomedia.

4: For games in Perinthos (Marmaraereğlisi), cf., e.g., Mordtmann, *op. cit.*, no. 49,1–2: \*Ακ-  
τια ἐν Περὶνθῳ, Πύθια ἐν Περὶνθῳ.

5/6: We know of games sponsored by the κοινόν of Bithynia and held at Nicomedia: cf. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, IV, no. 1645,3–5 (κοινὸν Βειθυνίας ἐν Νεικο-  
μηδεῖα); Robert, *CRAI* (1970), 20,15 (Delphi: κοινὰ Βειθυνίας ἐν Νεικομηδεῖα); hence, one might  
restore ἐ[ν Νεικομηδεῖα] κοινόν or κοινὰ Βειθυνίας; however, one could also think of ἐ[ν Νεικαῖα  
κοινὰ] Βειθυνίας, cf. Robert, in *RPh*, 3rd Ser., 4 (= 56) (1930), 35,21–23 = *idem*, *Opera minora  
selecta*, II, 1135 (inscription from Tralleis: Νεικέαν κοινὰ Βειθυνίας, κοινὰ Ἀσίας).

6/7: The parallel is provided by *CIG*, no. 3676 = *IGRRP*, IV, no. 161, from Cyzicus: ταλαν-  
[τιαίους καὶ] εἰμιταλαντιαίους νεικ[ή]σας. Reference is to minor contests in which the prizes  
amounted to one or one-half talent. On these contests, cf. Moretti, *op. cit.*, no. 69,18–19 = p. 191  
and pp. 195–96.

8: M: a minimum of forty victories of “one or one-half talent” category? Cf. PKΔ at the  
end of the agonistic inscription from the Cyzicus area, Mordtmann in *AM*, 7 (1882), 255 = no. 26,  
and Moretti, *op. cit.*, no. 86,15 = p. 253 and p. 256 (Anazarbos: ἀγῶνας ταλαντιαίους καὶ ἡμι-  
ταλαντιαίους μὲν).

## II. Funerary slab (sarcophagus?) (fig. 64)

Provenance: ca. 50 m. west of house of Lokman Kasar, presumably reused in a church as a  
pier capital

Marble slab, cut at left and right; height (apparently original) 0.86 m.; maximum length  
0.86 m.; maximum thickness 0.14 m.; height of letters 0.04–0.09 m.; interlinear spaces  
0.05 m.

Letters and ligatures: Ω, ⊗, ⊕, \*

Date: second-third century A.D.?

]            A  
]χου γερουσιαστ[ής  
ἐα]ντῷ κ(αί) τῇ ἀσυνκρί[ιτῳ γυναικί  
τοῖ]ς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀπα[γορεύω· εἰ δὲ τις τολμήσει  
5    ἔτε]ρον καταθέσθαι δ[ώσει τῷ ταμείῳ  
]ρσῖα \* , ΒΦ

2: ]χου is a genitive of the patronymic. For γερουσιαστής, i.e., “local senator” in our area,  
cf. *CIG*, no. 3687,2 (Erdek, near Cyzicus), no. 3749 (Nicaea).

3: For ἀσύγκριτος in a funerary inscription, cf., e.g., *IG*, XIV, no. 1743, L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones  
Graecae Urbis Romae*, II (Rome, 1973), no. 499, and K. Wessel, *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae  
Veteres Occidentis* (Dissertation Halle, 1936), no. 168 (Rome); for the same as a laudatory epithet,  
cf. *CIG*, no. 3493,12 (Thyateira); Mordtmann in *AM*, 12 (1887), 175 = no. 7,2 (Prusias ad Hy-  
pium, Bithynia). Cf. also J. and L. Robert, *Bull Epigraphique* (1948), no. 102; (1951), no. 219; (1954),  
no. 285; (1959), no. 524.

4: For the formula τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀπαγορεύω, characteristic of funerary inscriptions from  
the shores of the Marmara Sea, cf. B. Keil, “Über kleinasiatische Grabinschriften,” *Hermes*,  
43 (1908), 523 note 1, and L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), 222 note 2.

6: ]ρσῖα has no upsilon within the omicron (as it does in line 2 twice). If it had, one might  
have restored τῇ γε[ρ]ουσίᾳ, “will pay the local council 2500 denarii.” Cf. this formula in an  
inscription from the Cyzicus peninsula, ed. F. W. Hasluck, “Inscriptions from the Cyzicus  
Neighbourhood,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 24 (1904), 33, no. 47,4.

## III. Funerary slab (sarcophagus?) (fig. 65)

Marble slab, broken on all sides, five bottom lines erased; height 0.73 m.; length 0.675 m.;  
thickness 0.08 m.; height of letters 0.065–0.075 m.

Date: second-third century A.D.?

— — —  
 — — — — —  
 5 — — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —

κατεσκεύα]σεν ἐ[αυτῷ  
 κ(αί) τοῖς τέκνοις

— — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — —

## IV. Catalogue of names (fig. 66)

Marble slab, broken on top and left; height 0.38 m.; length 0.26 m.; thickness 0.12 m.;  
 height of letters 0.011 m.

Date: late Hellenistic?

List of names in two columns:

Δημήτριος.ημ...ίου  
 Λούκιος Ουαλέριος Κρίσπος  
 Ἀπολλόδωρος Βακχίου  
 Ἀπολλόδωρος Δημητρίου  
 5 Ἀπολλώνιος Μηνοφώντος  
 ]ου Τειμόθεος Ἱππονεΐκου  
 ο]υ Μόσχος Ἀχαιοῦ  
 ο]υ Βάκχιος Ἀπολλωνίδου  
 Δημήτριος Περιγένου  
 10 Ἀχαιὸς Μενάνδρου

For a similar catalogue from the gymnasium of Cyzicus, cf. Robert, *Etudes anatoliennes*, 199–200, where the names Ἀπολλόδωρος and Βάκχιος occur. Robert dates his inscription to the Hellenistic period; here, however, we have a Roman name in line 2. For parallels to -ου in Περιγένου as a genitive ending, cf., e.g., T. Drew-Bear in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 96 (1972), 468 and note 203. — If our list is connected with a gymnasium, the names may be those of *kolakretai* (financial officials), also connected with gymnasia or games. For a similar list of *kolakretai* of Cyzicus, cf. *CIG*, no. 3660. However, our names may have belonged to some other association, e.g., a religious society, cf. Hasluck, in *JHS*, 24 (1904), no. 58 (Manastir near Yenice).

## V. Funerary stele (fig. 62)

Marble relief of a funerary banquet, complete; height 0.535 m.; length 0.40 m.

Πατᾶ Πρωτομ[ένους, -ήδους, or -άχου  
 χαίρει

For the rare name Πατᾶς, cf. a funerary inscription of unknown provenance, recorded in *CIG*, no. 2143g (Addenda, p. 1017), as being in the Aegina Museum, and in *IG*, IV, no. 116, as “Aeginae in demarchio”: Δυλύπορις Πατᾶ χαίρει. The name Δυλύπορις is Thracian, cf., e.g., Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, III, 1 (Sofia, 1961), no. 967 (Plovdiv): Δωλεπορις. Πατᾶς seems Greek.

VI. We reproduce without comment two parts of one slab (figs. 67–68), height 0.41 m., length (combined) 1.28 m., thickness 0.095 m., height of letters 0.06–0.07 m., as the only inscription from the Byzantine period in Lokman Bey’s possession. Both parts of the slab have been re-carved; the lettering is of crude quality. The only whole word legible is μνημα.



### 3. *Kurşunlu, Manastır: Description of Site*

The remains of this monastery lie about one mile west of the village of Kurşunlu on a steep bluff overlooking a sandy beach (fig. 78). The monastery complex occupies part of the farm of Mehmet Köse. The ruins indicate a prosperous foundation of the middle Byzantine period in the construction of which a great deal of antique material was used.

Hasluck, who travelled in these parts in 1902–6, gives<sup>1</sup> the following account of the monastery:

I found at Kurshunlu not only a Byzantine church with remains of a once magnificent marble tessellated pavement, a massive precinct wall on the seaward side and a ruined gateway of some pretensions, but many ancient remains; these included several large fragments of marble lions, which suggest that the monastery occupied the site of the temple of Placiane. At the same time I should hesitate to place Placia at Kurshunlu, which, lying under the highest point of the Kara Dagħ range, does not possess land enough for its own support, but lives by the export of charcoal to Constantinople. It is much more probable that Placia was at Yenije.... If the Panagia is indeed the successor of Cybele, we find a curious repetition of history in the legend that the great picture now preserved at the monastery of the Phaneromene in Kapu Dagħ<sup>90</sup> was stolen from the monastery of Kurshunlu, to the great prejudice of the latter, which is now in ruins, while the picture brings a large revenue to its rival.<sup>91</sup>

Pančenko (1910) gives a much more detailed account of the monastery which is worth quoting almost in full:

As we approach the village of Kurşumli, we see from afar, on the most level and convenient area of the slopes of the Karadağ, the ruins of the monastery of Theophanes<sup>92</sup>. . . τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ τῆς Σιγριανῆς. . .

<sup>90</sup> On this monastery see Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (as in note 23 *supra*), 24ff.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 52f.

<sup>92</sup> Pančenko identified the monastery of Kurşunlu with Μέγας Ἀγρός of Theophanes Confessor, cf. p. 263 *infra*.

The local inhabitants call the monastery... "imperial" and ascribe its foundation to a daughter of the Emperor Constantine who, being afflicted with leprosy, was exiled to this wild spot and was healed by drinking from a spring indicated to her by wild boar (γουρούνια) that are still common in the Karadağ. Accordingly, when the "Emperor Constantine," in gratitude for the healing of his daughter, had constructed a splendid monastery on the site of the source, he directed that marble heads of these γουρούνια be placed on the monastery's enclosure wall. Indeed, one acroterion that has survived in the enclosure represents the head of an animal, not a boar, but probably a lion, and may have been brought from the ruins of Cyzicus.

The enclosure of the monastery or, to be more accurate, the seaward wall of the terrace on which the monastery is situated, stretches along a considerable distance and is roughly 5 m. high. At intervals of three paces are buttresses two paces wide. On one of these buttresses is the afore-mentioned head [of an animal] in rounded relief; on another there was until recently the head of a κόρη, probably from some temple of Cyzicus. It has now vanished.

The monastery is situated on a level part of a gently sloping spur of ground between a stream and the sea. It is nearly deserted and has a miserable little chapel built on part of the ruins of the monastic church. There live here one old monk with one or two workmen who till the rich land of the monastery's fields—a charming, shady spot, abounding in spring water and sufficiently high above the sea to be free from malaria.

As one enters the monastery [Pančenko enters it from northeast], one sees, first of all, a fountain of clear, but not mineral water. The fountain, which is square, is ancient, but has been restored. Behind the square structure there branch off thick walls whose direction and significance could easily be established by means of superficial excavation.

Above the arch of the fountain is inserted a small ( $0.32 \times 0.16$  m.) and badly preserved flat relief representing a man spearing an animal which, judging by the shape of its head, is a lion rather than a boar. There is no inscription.

Next to the fountain several architectural fragments of marble are laid together under the trees: a double fluted pilaster, the shaft of a column 0.38 m. in diameter, part of a (chancel?) parapet with a cross (0.31 m. high), and others. We may now turn to the ruins of the church. Not only all the foundations, but also its walls have been preserved to a height of 1 to 2 m. In the north aisle the arches of the doors are still standing. The south aisle is buried under a pile of earth and stones, overgrown with bushes and trees, and is certainly preserved, perhaps in better condition than the nave, which is occupied by the chapel, and the north aisle, which stands open. The walls are about 0.70 m. thick and are built of squared limestone alternating with four or five courses of brick. The bricks are on an average 0.38 m. wide. Their length is not known since I have not encountered any complete specimens. They have no stamps, only parallel finger marks running diagonally in crooked lines.

The monastic church had three aisles and two annex chapels, as indicated by the existence of a wall parallel to the north wall of the left-hand aisle which, on the east, is joined to the same aisle at a distance equivalent to about one third of the latter's total length counting from its apse. Through this outer wall of the annex and the adjoining north aisle (now ruined and standing open) an entrance has been broken into the present chapel constructed on the foundations of the central nave. The length of the north aisle is twenty-one paces. There remain its west door and in its outer (north) wall two big arches that were filled up in ancient times as well as one window near the apse.

The foundations and, partly, the walls of [the apses of] both lateral aisles and the nave have been preserved.

The former are semicircular on the outside, the latter is three-sided both inside and out.<sup>93</sup> The internal width of the central apse from one pylon of the triumphal arch to the other is six paces.

From these brief indications it may be seen that the plan and sections of the church of the monastery of Theophanes can be measured and delineated. Furthermore, nearly all the foundations of the church are still preserved and visible even without excavation. The new chapel is a miserable affair with a wooden roof. On its west side a section for women has been fenced off by means of a simple partition. The sanctuary has been narrowed down and the walls whitewashed. The terminations of the walls of the former diaconicon and prothesis stick out.

Inside the church stands a Roman-Corinthian capital, of the type called Theodosian, exactly like the one in the monastery of St. Anne.<sup>94</sup> Its width from the end of one volute to the other is 0.70 m. Above the entrance, several marble fragments are built into the wall, namely a double meander, a Roman ornament composed of palmettes in the form of the [Cyrillic] letter Ж, and acanthus leaves in relief under an arc-like fillet. There is also a curious antique relief of good workmanship representing two busts: Hermes in a brimmed cap holding a staff with an entwined snake (the young god is turned to the left) and, to his right, the bust of a beardless man in a Phrygian cap seen almost *en face*...

Inside the new church, i.e., in the central nave, are preserved parts of a Byzantine mosaic floor consisting exclusively of geometric motifs executed in porphyry, green marble and a yellow and white composition. On the central axis, approximately midway the length of the nave is a circle 1.80 m. in diameter filled with parallel zigzags. It is inscribed in a square frame which

<sup>93</sup> As far as we were able to observe, the central apse is semicircular on the inside.

<sup>94</sup> See *infra*, p. 272.

does not touch its circumference. The resulting corners are filled with a geometric ornament consisting of the tendrils of a half-palmette. The square was framed by circles which are preserved only in part. Inscribed in each circle is a rhombus with concave sides; this contains a second rhombus of similar shape, its corners touching the middle of each side of the larger rhombus. Another fragment pertains to the frame of the pavement near the north wall and consists of little circles, 0.10 m. in diameter, filled with a checkerboard ornament of triangles and eight-pointed stars or rather rosettes with pointed leaves.

The pavement in that part of the church where the women's vestibule has been set up is different. It is an interlace of the same basic type as in the floor of Imrahor.<sup>95</sup> The details are minute and complex, but, once again, exclusively geometric. There were no [figural] insets; at any rate, none have survived. Next to the interlace is a series of four bands of different colors. The remaininig parts of the pavement are well preserved and the colors of the stones are surprisingly bright.

Also worthy of attention is a marble fragment, 0.24×0.22 m., consisting of four leaves, each having five lobes. These leaves are attached to a little circle at right angles to each other. Between them are inserted four more leaves, each having three lobes. This ornament is contained in a double frame, which in the middle of one of the sides curves outward, forming a kind of loop, of which only the beginning is preserved.

In addition to the church, various foundations of monastic buildings, covered with earth and overgrown, project from the ground. The foundations of all the monastic buildings lie underground probably in their entirety. An excavation would enable one to reconstitute the plan of the monastery of Theophanes, not to mention architectural

fragments and other finds which are assured. A clandestine excavation in the monastic graveyard has recently produced a gold pectoral cross of considerable size, with a chased representation of St. George (his name written vertically), embellished with one or several emeralds. This information is derived from the peasant who found the cross and sold it to the local rich man; the latter did not show it to me, being afraid, no doubt, of losing this sacred object.

The western entrance gate (πόρτα) of the monastery is almost completely preserved. This is important considering the possibility that the monastery of Theophanes may have been built after the model of that of Studios. The location of the gates of the latter is known.<sup>96</sup>

The gateway is five paces broad and has on each side three niches capped by semicircular arches. The niches are 0.70 m. wide, the spaces between them are 0.45 m. wide, and the width of the projecting walls on the western and eastern sides of the gateway is 0.70 m., so that the length of the entire passageway formed by the gate is 4.50 m.<sup>97</sup> The height is approximately 3 m., but the ceiling and upper courses of stone have not survived. The exterior face of the gateway, after a stretch of wall 1.35 m. wide, forms an angle 1.20 m. deep, and then is visible for another four or five paces. In the wall on either side [of the gate], beyond the corners, are inserted reliefs taken from an ancient pagan structure. The relief on the left side (it has fallen down and is lying in a ditch) represents a head *en face*. The hair is rendered by means of two concentric semicircles connected by a series of radii, which gives the impression of a nimbus with rays inside, as in Egyptian monuments. Under the head is a garland of leaves, lightly delineated on the

<sup>95</sup> I.e., St. John of Studios.

<sup>96</sup> Pančenko's repeated references to St. John of Studios are due to his involvement in the exploration of that monument undertaken by the Russian Archaeological Institute in 1908.

<sup>97</sup> Read 5.50 m.

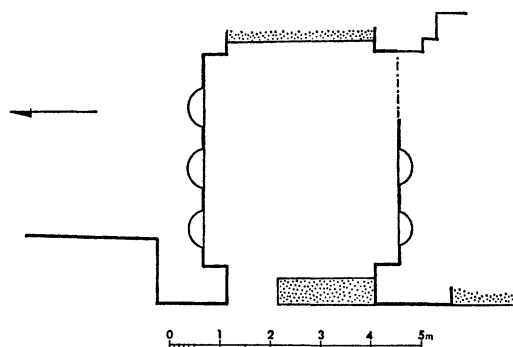
background. On the right is the faint outline of a figure with one wing visible. The relief on the right side of the gate represents a monster (Erichthonios? a Giant?) with a human trunk and the lower part of the body in the form of a snake without wings . . . .<sup>98</sup>

In the more than sixty years that have elapsed since Pančenko's visit many features (in particular the mosaic floor and most of the reliefs he describes) have disappeared, while others have come to the fore. The outer enclosure wall is still standing on the seaward side along a stretch of some two hundred meters (fig. 79). It follows the contours of the bluff as far as the stream (to the northeast of the church) and then turns inland (fig. 80). The construction is of rubble, and, therefore, difficult to date, but would appear to us to be of the later rather than of the middle Byzantine period. As noted by Pančenko, the wall presents a series of rounded buttresses, about 1.85 m. wide, at intervals of about 2.25 m. A stretch of similar wall may also be seen some distance south of the church. We were informed that a relief representing the Virgin Mary holding the Child lies buried under the sand of the beach, and is occasionally exposed by the waves. We did not have the good fortune of seeing it. Nor did we see a big relief representing "a snake" which, according to Mehmet Köse's father-in-law, once was to be seen on the beach.

The gateway (figs. 81ff. and text fig. B) has been incorporated into Mehmet Köse's house and converted into a room. In the process, it has lost one of its six niches. The ceiling is modern. The original structure is built of reused blocks and is, therefore, of indeterminate date. Nevertheless, it provides a good example of a monastic πυλών, such

<sup>98</sup> *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 267ff. In July 1897, W. Judeich spent two days at Kurşunlu, which he found to be a "purely Greek village of ca. thirty houses." He cursorily described the ruins of the monastery and a number of antique fragments (including the lions immured in the retaining wall). His notes, much shorter than those by Pančenko, usually overlap, but sometimes complement, the latter. Cf. W. Judeich, "Bericht über eine Reise im Nordwestlichen Kleinasien . . .," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wiss., Berlin* (1898, II), 552-55.

as is often mentioned in Byzantine sources.<sup>99</sup> The two reliefs seen by Pančenko on either side of the gate have disappeared.



B. Kurşunlu Monastery. Gatehouse, Plan

Within the original monastic enclosure one encounters the fountain which is still flowing. It is a Byzantine brick construction and is rectangular in shape, measuring  $2.51 \times 2.05$  m. Inside is a tank,  $1.20 \times 1.12$  m. The arch and relief have vanished. Next to the fountain lies a marble sarcophagus lid ( $2.15 \times 0.74$  m.) of slightly gabled shape, decorated with four crosses in low relief. One of the crosses is contained in a circular medallion, another has a semicircular arch over it (fig. 106). Before one reaches the fountain from the northeast, one passes a spot, hidden by brambles, in which there are some remnants of vaults and a column shaft (diameter 0.35 m.); according to local informants, the place once was full of bones. It may have been the ossuary of the monastery.

The church (fig. 108), now largely overgrown, is practically of the same size as that of Pelekete, and exhibits the same form of construction, namely five consecutive courses of brick (height of five bricks and five mortar joints 0.60 m.) followed by four courses of rubble (height 0.80 m.). The bricks measure 0.32 to 0.38 by 0.04-0.05 m., and the mortar joints 0.065 to 0.08 m. The latter are vertical and have been scored with a blunt implement. In the zone of rubble there are both horizontal and vertical score marks in the mortar.

The most visible part of the church today is the east half of the north aisle. At the center of the prothesis apse (fig. 113) is a

<sup>99</sup> Cf. A. K. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή ἀρχιτεκτονική*<sup>2</sup> (Athens, 1958), 17ff. and esp. fig. 20 for a gateway with internal niches.

little cruciform sinking, such as is also found in the north church of the monastery of Lips at Istanbul.<sup>100</sup> Both prothesis and diaconicon had a little semicircular niche in their outer walls. In front of the prothesis is an arched recess, 2.17 m. long and 0.64 m. deep, perhaps intended for a sarcophagus.

Originally, the dome of the church was supported on four columns. Part of one shaft remains (diameter 0.51 m.), but it is not *in situ*. We have found the footing of the northeast column (fig. 114), which is octagonal (0.77 m. across and 0.32 m. to the side) and has, next to it, tiny portions of the mosaic pavement. One column base remains (not *in situ*) in the southwest part of the nave (fig. 115). It has an octagonal plinth and was intended for a shaft whose lower diameter was 0.59 m. The capitals were not Theodosian, as Pančenko claims, but Roman. One battered specimen remains in the church (fig. 119), another, well preserved, has been transported to the village of Kurşunlu and placed at the fountain in front of the mosque (fig. 118). It is 0.66 m. high, 0.76 m. wide at the top (from volute to volute), and has a lower diameter of 0.50 m. The interior of the church was originally revetted with marble as is proved by several fragments of serrated dividers such as were normally used to frame marble panels. Of the furnishings of the church we have found the lower part of one colonnette pertaining to the *templon* (fig. 120).

We have been able to locate the southwest corner of the narthex (fig. 112). Abutting on its west face is what appears to have been a staircase. Two treads are visible, but Mehmet Köse informed us that there were eight. He also claims to have found many burials in this area, including three tombs one on top of the other. A funerary stele and the entablature with the feline, now at the house of Süleyman Köse, Mehmet's son (cf. p. 258 *infra*), are said to have been found at this spot, "at a depth of 4 m."

Built against the north wall of the church is a chapel having a fairly large semicircular apse and, within it, traces of a synthronon. The chapel is later than the church, as one may ascertain at the point of juncture

between the two, and exhibits four courses of brick followed by a good deal of rubble.

South of the church is part of a high wall constructed entirely of rubble and, presumably, of fairly late date. There is also a cruciform fountain to the southeast of the church.

All over the area of the monastery there are a great number of carved fragments, Roman, early Byzantine, and middle Byzantine. Some have been transported to neighboring houses, others have found their way to the municipal building of Karacabey in whose garden a small lapidarium has been installed, and reportedly also to the Bursa museum. We shall mention here only a few of the more important pieces. First, there are several fragments (now divided between the monastery and Karacabey) of what must once have been a very handsome "Asiatic" sarcophagus with seated and standing figures and a podium bearing an elaborate decoration of unusual form<sup>101</sup> (figs. 90–97). The dividing colonnettes appear to have had Ionic capitals, if the fragment illustrated in fig. 96 belonged to the same sarcophagus. We may also note two pieces of the same coping (from a sarcophagus lid?) decorated with leaf-and-dart and other motifs (figs. 98–99), a bench support decorated with the figure of a harpy (figs. 100–101), two incomplete funerary reliefs (figs. 102–103), a battered lion's head (fig. 105), part of a column shaft with spiral fluting (fig. 104), etc.

The number of early Byzantine pieces is comparatively small. In addition to the sarcophagus lid already mentioned, we may note a piece of wall skirting (?) decorated

<sup>100</sup> See Th. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips . . .," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 260 and figs. 6, 25, 26.

<sup>101</sup> The normal podium ornament of columnar sarcophagi consists of a deeply-cut guilloche (sometimes alternating with sections of meander and garland) and Lesbian cymatium, as on the sarcophagi of Melfi, Palazzo Torlonia (Rome G), etc. See C. R. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi*, Sardis, V/1 (Princeton, 1924), figs. 39–41, 83–84, 92; M. Lawrence, "Additional Asiatic Sarcophagi," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 20 (1951), figs. 31, 42; G. Ferrari, *Il commercio dei sarcofagi asiatici* (Rome, 1966), pls. 1.1, 3.1–2, 3.6; H. Wiegartz, *Kleinasiatische Säulensarkophage* (Berlin, 1965), pls. 5b, 27d, 29a, 32b. We do not know of any columnar sarcophagus with Ionic capitals.

with a meander (fig. 125), perhaps the same piece that was seen by Pančenko. More numerous are the remains of the middle Byzantine period. The largest of them is a complete, but lidless sarcophagus (length 2.07 m., height 0.72 m., depth 0.75 m.), whose front is decorated with three rather crudely incised crosses (fig. 107). The central cross, which is the largest, stands on a vestigial orb, and its bottom arm is decorated with a series of diamonds placed end to end.<sup>102</sup> Today this sarcophagus is used as a fountain and has been placed in front of Mehmet Köse's house. In the neighboring house of Süleyman Köse is part of an entablature (height 0.38 m., width 0.32 m.) decorated on its underside with a square panel containing a feline attacking a donkey or a hare (?) (fig. 124). There is a series of drill holes along the feline's back, and the eyes of both animals are likewise marked by drill holes. To the right of the panel is a square sinking which accommodated the top of a post or column. A small, slightly curved marble element, built into the south wall of Mehmet Köse's house has the letters Α and Ω carved in relief (fig. 88). Two fragments of marble cornice decorated with crosses and palmettes (figs. 121, 122) recall similar work at the monastery of Lips at Istanbul.<sup>103</sup> There are also a number of pieces of indeterminate destination decorated with a rinceau in low relief (figs. 126, 127, 130).

Of greater interest is a small piece of painted plaster bearing the text of Ezek.

44:2, [Ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται, οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσεται καὶ οὐδεὶς *[sic]* οὐ μὴ διέλθῃ δι' αὐτῆς (fig. 131), a text traditionally associated with the Virgin Mary.<sup>104</sup> The lettering is black on a white ground and each line is separated from the next by two ruled incisions. The fragment probably belongs to a scroll held by the prophet Ezekiel. Palaeographically, the inscription has to be dated in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, at which time, therefore, the church must have been repainted.

Finally, a few hundred meters southwest of the monastery, walking uphill, one encounters the foundations of an apsed chapel or church, completely overgrown with brambles (fig. 135). Lying inside it is part of the curved parapet of an ambo of approximately sixth-century date (fig. 134). Close by we have found part of a crudely carved mullion capital (fig. 133) and, rather surprisingly, a piece of a porphyry column.

Our epigraphical gleanings at the farm of Mehmet Köse were meager. In addition to the eighth-tenth-century letters Α and Ω and the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century inscribed fresco fragment already discussed, we found only three inscriptions there in 1971. The first of them was a loose fragment kept near the entrance to the house; it was still intact in 1972. The remaining inscriptions are in fixed positions, the second forming the threshold of the back entrance, the third being immured in the back wall of the house.

#### I. Fragment of a funerary inscription (fig. 86)

Height 0.185 m.; length 0.23 m.; height of letters 0.025 m.

Date: Late Empire?

ὑπό]μνημα  
ἐγκεχ]αραγμέ]ν — —  
ΚΑΥΣΗΝ  
ΝΟΣ ΤΟ

<sup>102</sup> The crudeness of the carving and the "degeneration" of the orb suggest to us that this is a Middle rather than an Early Byzantine work. On this topic, see O. Feld, "Mittelbyzantinische Sarkophage," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 65 (1970), 158ff.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Monastery of Lips.... Additional Notes," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 307 and fig. 15.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. G. Babić, "L'image symbolique de la 'porte fermée' à Saint-Clément d'Ohrd," *Synhronon* (Paris, 1968), 145ff.

1: The term ὑπόμνημα, "funerary monument," is characteristic of the Cyzicus and Hellespont regions, cf., e.g., *CIG*, nos. 3690,1, 3692,3, 3693,1; H. G. Lolling in *AM*, 9 (1884), 22, 23, 26, 35; Hasluck, *Cyzicus* . . . (Cambridge, 1910), 242–43; *idem* in *JHS*, 24 (1904), 20–32 = nos. 3, 27, 29, 30, 40, 42; and J. Kubińska, *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Warsaw, 1968), 23 (examples from second-third century and further bibliography). For ὑπόμνημα, "tomb," in Christian inscriptions, cf., e.g., *CIG*, no. 9257.

2: For ἐγκεχ]αραγμέ[ν — —, cf. Kubińska, *op. cit.*, 15: διὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τῆς ἐγκεχα-  
μένης τῇ σορῶ (Smyrna).

## II. Fragment of a sarcophagus slab (fig. 87)

Length 0.76 m.; height 0.65 m.; height of letters 0.045–0.09 m.

Date: Early Byzantine

ὑ[πόμνημα  
Πα[ύλου

Bibliography: F. W. Hasluck, "Inscriptions from the Cyzicus Neighbourhood," *JHS*, 24 (1904), 36 (fragment in facsimile). Hasluck saw a sarcophagus slab 1.75 × 0.83 m., which he found "near the door." He read:

ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ  
ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΡΑ . .

Thus, in almost seventy years, our inscription has remained in very nearly the same spot, but has been reduced to three letters.

## III. Lower left side of a *tabula ansata* (fig. 89)

Height 0.30 m.; length 0.57 m.; height of letters 0.025–0.035 m.

Date: sixth century?

5 Π[  
Υ[  
Ξ[  
Ο[  
Θ[  
ΑΡ[

We found no trace of the inscriptions nos. 54 (a sarcophagus of Aur. Asclepiades) and 56 (a fragment with the name Aur. Maior), published by Hasluck in *JHS*, 24 (1904), 35–36, or of the inscription, probably containing the ὑπόμνημα formula, published by W. Judeich, "Bericht über eine Reise im Nordwestlichen Kleinasien . . .," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wiss.*, Berlin (1898, II), 552–55.

### 4. *Kurşunlu*, *Manastır*: *Megas Agros* or *Polichnion*?

We shall now discuss the Byzantine name of the complex west of *Kurşunlu*, presently

owned by Mehmet Köse. A local Greek tradition identified this complex with the monastery τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Σιγριανῆς or τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ, of which Theophanes Confessor (d. 818) was the first,

and the only known,<sup>104a</sup> abbot. However, we shall presently see that this tradition cannot be traced back beyond the seventies of the last century. Moreover, another establishment which our sources situate close by Megas Agros may have been the predecessor of the present Kurşunlu complex. This is Polichnion, also known as Polychronia, or in Slavic Polihron, a monastery connected with the names of Theophanes Confessor and of Saint Methodius, apostle of the Slavs.<sup>105</sup> We therefore must examine the relevant texts and first report what they have to say on the respective locations of Megas Agros and Polichnion or Polychronia.

Various *Vitae* and laudations of Theophanes are our main source of topographical information.<sup>106</sup> The earliest and the best of

<sup>104a</sup> This statement may need modification in light of the recent publication of a Dumbarton Oaks seal mentioning "Christopher, monk and abbot of Agros," cf. V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, V,3, Supplement (Paris, 1972), no. 1938. The editor assigns the seal to the tenth century. He sees in it not a regular seal, but an expression of veneration which the monks of Agros showed for Christopher, the mentor of Theophanes, in whose monastery the future Confessor had spent some time prior to the founding of Agros. Christopher's monastery, as we shall presently see, was contiguous with that of Agros, and, according to the testimony of Metaphrastes, was called "the little Agros." Laurent's is an enticing, if complicated, exegesis; however, Metaphrastes' testimony, on which everything hinges, seems unreliable to us. Christopher of the eighth century could not have been an actual abbot of Agros, because in his time Agros either did not exist or was led by Theophanes. On the other hand, if the Agros of the seal is our Agros (rather than a monastery of Cyprus or Asia Minor, cf. note 111 *infra*), and if the seal is of the tenth century, then it may refer to an actual tenth-century abbot of Agros by the name of Christopher. Father Laurent himself appears to admit the existence of a tenth-century abbot Christopher of Agros, "otherwise unknown."

<sup>105</sup> Menthon, *L'Olympe* (as in note 45 *supra*), second map at the end of the book, locates Polichnion just west of Kurşunlu—that is, at our complex—but he puts "Polychronion" (which is surely the same place) some distance further west. Unfortunately, the author does not explain these localizations, nor does he indicate his source for the date of the foundation of Polichnion (p. 198: "about 779").

<sup>106</sup> For a list of the *Vitae* of Theophanes, cf. F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*<sup>3</sup>, nos. 1787z–1792e.

them is the long *Vita* written by Patriarch Methodius (d. 847); several other *Vitae* are derived from it. Their dependence extends from literal borrowings<sup>107</sup> to the excerpting of essential features (including factual information)—the latter is true of texts representing the *Vita* which was included in the so-called "Imperial Menologium."<sup>108</sup> In addition to the *Vitae*, we have two independent witnesses: the *Panegyric* on Theophanes, which, if it is by Theodore of Studios (d. 826), is the earliest extant source on the Saint,<sup>109</sup> and a letter by Michael Psellos (d. 1078), describing his voyage along the coast of the Sea of Marmara and his landing at or near Agros.<sup>110</sup>

Pieced together, the topographical passages in these texts give the following picture:

1) Megas Agros, or simply Agros,<sup>111</sup> was

<sup>107</sup> This is the case of the *Vita* printed in C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*, II (Leipzig, 1885), 28–30; example: 28,24–25 repeats the *Vita* by Methodius (= *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1787z), 11,3. In subsequent notes, this latter *Vita* will be referred to as *VM*; other *Vitae* will usually be quoted by the *BHG*<sup>3</sup> number and the page of the edition described in that number.

<sup>108</sup> *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1791; cf. also no. 1788. For a discussion of various *Vitae*, cf. also *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1792, 585–96.

<sup>109</sup> *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1792b=Ch. Van de Vorst, "Un panégyrique de S. Théophane le Chronographe par S. Théodore Studite," *AnalBoll*, 31 (1912), 11–23. The identity of the author is established mainly on stylistic grounds. It is conceivable that the *Vita* by Methodius borrowed from the *Panegyric*, cf. *Panegyric*, 23,7–8 and *Vita*, 3,12 and 4,4–5, where the question of the Saint's baptismal name (Theophanes rather than Isaac) is treated in the same way. On the other hand, the *Panegyric*, 21,31–36 differs from all the other sources in having Theophanes tonsured on the island of Kalonymos rather than at Polichnion. If the *Panegyric* is by Theodore, this would be a considerable slip.

<sup>110</sup> *Eps.* 12–15 and 140, ed. Kurtz-Drexler (as in note 5 *supra*), 13–19, 167–68.

<sup>111</sup> So *VM*, 17,2–3, 38,25–26, and *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1791, ed. Krumbacher, 398,19. — There existed at least two other monasteries by the name of Agros or Megas Agros: (1) in Cyprus (possibly two: near Nicosia and in the diocese of Kition), and (2) on Mt. Latros, near Miletus, where Agros occurs jointly with Stylos. This must be kept in mind in any attempts to reconstruct the monastic library of our Agros in the Hellespont. Cf. J. Darrouzès in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 8 (1951), 177, and 15 (1957), 135–36 (concerning *Parisinus Graecus* 533, Athens, National Library, codex 842, and Jerusalem, St. Sabas, codex 259).



situated in a picturesque spot in the foothills of the Sigriane (Karadağ) mountains,<sup>112</sup> a range extending along the southern coast of the Marmara Sea from the Rhyndacus (Karadere) river in the direction of the Cyzicus peninsula.

2) It was at or near the seashore. This can be shown in several ways: Agros had a harbor of its own;<sup>113</sup> Saint Theophanes traveled between Agros and Polichnion (which was surely on the seashore) by sea;<sup>114</sup> monks of Agros did not have to go far to catch fish, as we learn from the following story, transmitted in the *Vita* by Methodius:

"On one occasion, when Theophanes was visited by some fathers or rather brethren, he welcomed them with generous hand and soul, opening the soul through the hand (as for the hand, he always kept it open). Forthwith he sent for fish, and had a large quantity of many sorts of them brought. He magnanimously told his guests: 'Lo and behold, blessed fathers, your prayers did bring forth a luxurious fare.' One of the guests gave a quick and witty repartee, 'I do not wish to partake of these. I would rather have a *hyska*.' When he who was firm in his hopes and farsighted in his faith and perfect in his chastity heard this, he right away ordered one of his disciples to go and bring a *hyska*, and added, '⟨Let it be⟩ on account of the fathers, since they so desire...' The disciple who had been dispatched left, and brought him an enormous *hyska*, as he had been ordered to do. This ⟨was accomplished⟩ in spite of the fact that the place was altogether unsuitable for the catch of fish of this kind; for they caught fish not from some spot opposite [on the opposite shore of the Marmara Sea?], but from their monastery proper, that is, from the seashore."<sup>115</sup> The identity of *hyska* has not yet been established, in spite of the learned excursus which Professor Louis Robert devoted to

that fish some years ago;<sup>116</sup> the name probably refers to the sturgeon, for, according to the eleventh-century author Symeon Seth, the *hyska*'s flesh has the same nutritive value as pork, and the taste of pork is attributed to some parts of the sturgeon in a modern encyclopedia.<sup>117</sup> If *hyska* was a sturgeon, one would understand why the seashore near Agros was unlikely to yield this surprising catch.

3) The Agros property was contiguous with that of the monastery of Father Christophoros, where Theophanes dwelt for awhile after his return to the mainland from the island of Kalonymos (İmralı Adası).<sup>118</sup>

4) Agros was some distance west of Medikion. Medikion, we may remember, was also known as the monastery of the Holy Fathers (of Nicaea).<sup>119</sup> When Psellos traveled by boat to "the Holy Fathers"—that is, was on the way "up" to Medikion, his *charistike*<sup>120</sup>—he kept "our" Agros "opposite and to the right"; originally, he intended to sail by, for he hoped that Agros would receive him on his way "down," that is, on his return voyage.<sup>121</sup> Whether we assume that

<sup>116</sup> "Les Kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-sciés. Sur des lettres d'un métropolitain de Phrygie au X<sup>e</sup> siècle. Philologie et réalités," *Journal des Savants* (January-June 1962), esp. pp. 62-67.

<sup>117</sup> *Symeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ed. B. Langkavel (Leipzig, 1868), 111,14-19; D. N. Papagiannopoulos, *s.v.* 'Ακιπησιών, in Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἑγκυκλοπαίδεια, 3 (1927?), p. 108, col. 1.

<sup>118</sup> *VM*, 16,22-17,6 (cf. the word ὁμορῶντας, 17,5).

<sup>119</sup> Cf. p. 240 and note 37 *supra*. Psellos, too, knew that Medikion had another name: Μηδικιον. . . ὀνόματος μὲν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἡξιωμένον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνώνυμον πάντῃ δοκεῖ, εἰ μὴ ὅτι Μηδικιον ἑπωνόμασται, *Ep.* 140, ed. Kurtz-Drexler, 167,10-13.

<sup>120</sup> Cf., e.g., Ahrweiler, "Charisticariat" (as in note 37 *supra*), esp. p. 25.

<sup>121</sup> The crucial phrases in *Ep.* 13, ed. Kurtz-Drexler, 15,21-24 and 16,6-8, are: (a) πορθμείου δὲ ἐπιβάς τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Πατέρας [the editors do not capitalize these words] ὁδὸν ἐστειλλόμενῃ· ἀναγομένῳ γάρ μοι τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνους Ἀγρὸς ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἡμέτερος, ὃς δὴ καταγομένους ἡλπίζετο διαδέξασθαι, and (b) ὡς τῆς εὐθὺ τῶν Πατέρων ἐκλαθομένους ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ προειρημένου Ἀγροῦ ἐπίνειον κατάραι. . . ἐπελγεσθαι. — Psellos traveled toward the end of May, for he sailed on a Sunday on which the Feast of the Holy Fathers was celebrated, cf. *ibid.*, p. 16,26-27. The usual date of the Feast of the Fathers of Nicaea is May 29.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. the *Panegyric* ascribed to Theodore of Studios (as in note 109 *supra*), 22,6-8, where the area of Megas Agros is called ὑπώρειάν τινα τοῦ Σιγριανικοῦ ὄρους.

<sup>113</sup> Ἐπίνειον, νεώριον, Psellos, *Ep.* 13, ed. Kurtz-Drexler, 16,7-8.

<sup>114</sup> *VM*, 25,18-25; cf. *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1791, ed. Krumbacher, 395,28-396,2.

<sup>115</sup> *VM*, 24,17-32; cf. *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1791, ed. Krumbacher, 395,17-23.

Psellos was traveling to Trigleia-Medikion from Constantinople or, as we prefer to believe, from the area of Cyzicus, the expressions "on the right" and "expected to receive us on the way down" put Agros west of Medikion.<sup>122</sup>

5) Finally, Agros lay six *semeia* from Polichnion-Polychronia,<sup>123</sup> and twelve *semeia* from its *proasteion* at Hiereia<sup>124</sup> (a *semeion* being roughly a mile<sup>125</sup>).

Thus, the information which the texts give us about Megas Agros agrees with the location of the present complex of ruins west of Kurşunlu: that complex is on the sea (see point 2 *supra*); it lies west of Medikion (see point 4 *supra*); and it is near the remains of a church, situated a short distance higher up on the slope in a southwesterly direction. These remains would then be the remnants of the monastery of St. Christophoros (see point 3 *supra*).

<sup>122</sup> If "The Holy Fathers" and Medikion are the same, then the itinerary as described in *Ep.* 13, ed. Kurtz-Drexler, 14–17, is compatible with the assumption that Cyzicus, i.e., most probably Artake (Erdek), was its initial and terminal point. The party used a small vessel holding "over" twelve passengers and a crew of three; the initial route was along the shore (to round the peninsula of Cyzicus, we submit); afterward the boat moved onto "high seas"; Agros was to the right; the plan was to go to Medikion first and to land at Agros on the way back; however, when contrary wind and rain started, the party "forgot" about Medikion and landed at Agros, apparently without ever getting to Medikion; they started the return voyage from Agros; they walked on dry land after another landing on the way back from Agros—if the point of destination had been Constantinople, such a walk would not be easy to explain. The city in which both Psellos and his addressee lived at that time (cf. *Eps.* 13 and 14, pp. 15,20 and 18,10–16) was a coastal city, but not necessarily Constantinople: "on both sides" it had groves, gardens, and meadows (*Ep.* 14, pp. 17,26–27 and 18,2). If Psellos did travel from Constantinople, his intended itinerary was: the capital-Medikion-Agros-the capital; however, having been blown off course (but how could a contrary wind do that to someone proceeding from the north?), he landed at Agros and thence returned to the capital.

<sup>123</sup> *VM*, 25,19.

<sup>124</sup> *VM*, 37,11–14.

<sup>125</sup> After some discussion, E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*... (Munich, 1970), 32–36, opts for the value of 1574.16 meters for the *μίλιον* or *σημείον*.

In only two respects does the identification of Megas Agros with the ruins at Kurşunlu present some difficulty. In the first place, the term *μέγας ἀγρός* presupposes a large stretch of tillable land, while the arable area behind Mehmet Köse's farm is of modest dimensions. In the second place, the Kurşunlu ruins are right on the sea—the church itself can be reached from the beach along an ascending path no more than two hundred meters long—while there are various indications to the effect that Megas Agros may have been some distance from the shore. When Leo V's henchmen arrived to summon Theophanes to Constantinople (814), the Saint, gravely afflicted with kidney stones, had to be taken to the shore in a covered carriage, and put on a boat there.<sup>126</sup> The *Vita* by Methodius seems to imply that the procession which escorted Theophanes' body from Hiereia to Agros twelve miles away made this journey by land.<sup>127</sup> Finally, on his turbulent voyage to Medikion, Psellos first disembarked at the harbor of Agros, and only then ascended to Agros.<sup>128</sup>

Admittedly, these difficulties are not serious. What seems to us a skimpy area of tillable land may have appeared large to Theophanes' contemporaries; and Theophanes' attendants may have had to use a cart for a distance of a few hundred meters of steep ground, in order to alleviate the ailing Saint's discomfort; Methodius' passage is vague; and Psellos does not indicate the distance between Agros and its harbor.

We come now to Polichnion or Polychronia, the second possible Byzantine antecedent of the Kurşunlu complex. This monastery was located close by Agros, being, as we just saw, six *semeia* distant from it; it, too, lay along the Sigriane range,<sup>129</sup> and it was on the sea. The latter may be inferred, for instance, from the following miracle wrought by Theophanes and reported

<sup>126</sup> *VM*, 29,27–29 (λαμπήνη βληθεῖς... ἀμάξης μετατεθείς εἰς πλοίαριον). Cf. *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1791, ed. Krumbacher, 396,20–22 (ἐφ' ἀμάξης τίθεται... κὰν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ κατὰγεται).

<sup>127</sup> *VM*, 38,19–27: μετὰ... κηρῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων καὶ ψαλμωδίας κυκλοτερῶς τοῦ πλήθους ἐξάρχοντος μετῆραν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ κτισθεῖσαν μονὴν τὸν Ἀγρόν.

<sup>128</sup> *Ep.* 13, ed. Kurtz-Drexler, 16,7–10.

<sup>129</sup> *VM*, 25,18–19, 15,20–21.

in Methodius' *Vita*: one day, the Saint visited Polichnion, but was not able to return on account of a prolonged storm which prevented anyone from landing (προσπλεῦσαι) at Polichnion. Theophanes sent out one of his disciples and had him order the sea to calm down. The sea obeyed, and the Saint returned by boat to Agros.<sup>130</sup>

Thus, on the strength of evidence offered by the texts alone, the ruins at Kurşunlu could be the former site of either Megas Agros or Polichnion-Polychronia. Nor does the size of the present complex provide a decisive argument in favor of one or the other monastery. To be sure, since Agros was the main monastery of Theophanes, where the Saint had a church built for his community, it probably was bigger than the monastic enterprises which stood on his other *proasteia*, such as Polichnion and Hiereia; and the Kurşunlu complex is the most extensive ruin to be found today between the mouth of the Rhyndacus and the village of Yenice to the west. However, we shall see that by 861–63 Polichnion-Polychronia had seventy monks—and thus was big enough to have occupied the site of the present ruin.

To decide, we are left with the Greek tradition to which we alluded at the beginning of the present section, and we must examine it briefly. To our knowledge, identification of the monastery near Kurşunlu with Megas Agros was first proposed in print in 1876, when Nikodemos, metropolitan of Cyzicus, published an *Akolouthia* in honor of Aimilianos, his predecessor of the iconoclast period, and prefaced his work with remarks on the history of the diocese of Cyzicus.<sup>131</sup> In 1892 Euangelides visited our site and left a cursory description of it; he, too, called it μονὴ τῆς Σιγριανῆς ἢ Μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ.<sup>132</sup> Euangelides was aware of the

identification by Nikodemos of Cyzicus, but curiously enough he credited himself with being the first to connect the ruins with Theophanes' monastery.<sup>133</sup>

Neither Nikodemos nor Euangelides offered evidence in support of his identification.<sup>134</sup> Hasluck, who visited Kurşunlu sometime between 1902 and 1906, took the attribution for granted—incidentally, as we already saw, he found the monastery in ruins.<sup>135</sup> The Greek Calendar (Ἡμερολόγιον) of the National Philanthropic Establishments for 1905 put Megas Agros in the vicinity of Kurşunlu, which it described as a partially Greek village with a Greek school and church.<sup>136</sup> Pančenko, who surveyed the site in 1910, had no doubt as to its identity with Megas Agros on account of "the very name of the monastery"—but what was the authority for that name?—and "the texts of the *Vitae*, describing Theophanes' journey to Cyzicus"—but the *Vitae*, which we already discussed, allow only the conclusion that the monastery was situated somewhere in the area. Pančenko explicitly stated that "nobody had established the location of <Theophanes'> monastery in print." This observation is important; it shows that he was unaware of Nikodemos of Cyzicus, of Euangelides, and of the Calendar of 1905. Consequently, when Pančenko spoke of the name of the monastery, he relied on a different, oral tradition, which he had learned either from the Christian inhabitants of Kurşunlu (who traced the monastery's origins back to the time of Constantine the Great) or from the single monk who resided in the ruined monastery at the time of his visit.<sup>137</sup> Hasluck, too, may have learned the name Megas Agros on the spot, although he quoted the work of Niko-

<sup>130</sup> *VM*, 25, 18–25.

<sup>131</sup> Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Αἰμιλιανοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυζίκου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ... ὑπὸ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Κυζίκου Νικοδήμου (Constantinople, 1876), esp. p. 15: the monastery of Megas Agros is situated "two hours <on foot?> north [*sic*] of the mouth of the Rhyndacus, near the Christian village of Kurşunlu."

<sup>132</sup> T. Euangelides, Ἡ μονὴ τῆς Σιγριανῆς ἢ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ (Athens, 1895), esp. pp. 11–13. Uncritical summary of Euangelides' pamphlet in the review of *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1792, by J. Dräseke,

*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 22 (1897), esp. cols. 309–10.

<sup>133</sup> Compare Euangelides, Ἡ μονὴ τῆς Σιγριανῆς, 12, with 11 and 13.

<sup>134</sup> Nikodemos, Ἀκολουθία, says only that the monastery's ruins bear witness to its past glories.

<sup>135</sup> *Cyzicus* (as in note 23 *supra*), 52–53. Cf. p. 253 and note 91 *supra*.

<sup>136</sup> Ἐθνικὰ φιλανθρωπικὰ καταστήματα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ ἔτους 1905 (Istanbul, 1904), 181–82.

<sup>137</sup> *IRAİK*, 15 (1911), 267–68.

demos of Cyzicus in the bibliography of his book.<sup>138</sup>

We have no assurance that the oral tradition which we postulate as Pančenko's source in 1910 was independent and authentic, as it may have been itself derived from the learned guesses which Nikodemos and Euangelides had committed to print. In spite of these caveats, we provisionally identify the complex at Kurşunlu with the Megas Agros of Theophanes Confessor. We turn now to the history of that monastery.<sup>139</sup>

Megas Agros was founded by Theophanes, who acquired the land for it shortly before 787;<sup>140</sup> by that time, he was thoroughly familiar with the area. He had been entrusted with supervising (and financing) the building of fortifications at nearby Cyzicus by Leo IV (d. 780); during his stay at Cyzicus, he had traveled to Sigriane and discussed his plans for retiring from the world with the local anchorite Germanos. About 781, he was tonsured at Polichnion, which had been his property. From there, he moved to the island of Kalonymos opposite the mouth of the Rhyndacus, where he remained as a simple calligrapher-monk in the monastery which he himself had founded on a piece of land inherited from his father. Six years later he returned to Sigriane and joined the monastery of Father Christophoros. Agros, we recall, was a piece of property adjoining that monastery; when it was put up for sale, Theophanes overcame his financial difficulties—he was no longer a wealthy man,

<sup>138</sup> *Cyzicus*, 318.

<sup>139</sup> The best treatment to date of the history of Agros and of its location is by J. Pargoire, "Saint Théophane le Chronographe et ses rapports avec Saint Théodore Studite," *VizVrem*, 9 (1902), 31–102, especially sect. VI: "Position du monastère de Théophane," pp. 42–49, and sect. XVI: "Tombeau de Théophane et son monastère de Grand Champ," pp. 91–95. The present sketch is much indebted to Pargoire's article. — For some good, if succinct, remarks on the location of Megas Agros, cf. also Tomaschek, "Topographie" (as in note 4 *supra*), 14.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. *VM*, 17,1–19,9, where the sequence of events is (a) purchase of ground for Megas Agros, (b) participation of Theophanes in the Second Council of Nicaea, (c) Theophanes' trip to Pandemos, the Hellespont, and Bithynia to recruit monks for his monastery. Little time must have elapsed between (a) and (c), and *a fortiori* between (a) and (b).

having previously distributed his earthly goods among the needy—and was able to borrow two and one-half pounds of gold to cover the price of purchase.<sup>141</sup> In order to recruit monks for the new foundation, Theophanes made a trip to Pandemos, the Hellespont, and Bithynia.<sup>142</sup> On the site of Agros, he had a church built for the community.<sup>143</sup>

Except for occasional absences, either of an official nature, such as his journey to the Second Council of Nicaea (787), or of a private character, such as his trip to some hot springs (probably those of Bursa or Yalova),<sup>144</sup> Theophanes stayed in the Agros

<sup>141</sup> Cf. *VM*, 11,1–4, 11–21; 15,20–22; 16,3–16, 23–28; 17,7–14. The price of two and one-half pounds of gold does not seem exorbitant. About 1050, Constantine IX gave St. Lazarus of Galesion 720 nomismata, or ten pounds of gold (true, in all probability, in the debased currency of eighteen carats of his reign), "from which nomismata the major part of the construction of Pausolyte [a monastic complex] was covered"; cf. the *Vita* of Lazarus the Galesiote, *ActaSS*, November, III, 584E.

<sup>142</sup> *VM*, 19,4–9. Pandemos is mentioned in *Vita Ioannicii* by Sabas, *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 935, 341B and 344B; Sabas locates it in the Hellespont. The Eriste monastery was at Pandemos.

<sup>143</sup> *VM*, 21,7. Some of the reused elements traceable to the church at Mehmet Köse's farm, such as the large capitals (both those at the farm, either whole or in fragments, and that at the fountain of Kurşunlu, cf. p. 257 and fig. 118 *supra*), are likely to be spolia from Cyzicus. Theophanes, the former supervisor of public works at Cyzicus, could very well have ordered antique material from that city to be brought to his new church. On spolia from Cyzicus at the St. Anne monastery near Yeniceköy, cf. Pančenko, *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 265; on the same in Constantinople, cf., e.g., C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii, Istanbul," *DOP*, 22 (1968), 182.

<sup>144</sup> Nicaea: e.g., *VM*, 18,22–19,4; *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1792, 612,15–24. Neither Theophanes' name nor that of Agros occurs among the signatories of the Council of 787. — Trip to hot springs for reasons of health: *VM*, 22,15–16. In the forties of the tenth century, Theodore, metropolitan of Cyzicus—a locality close to Megas Agros—visited the thermal establishments of Pythia-Yalova; cf. J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris, 1960), 326,17–21. Two circumstances qualify the value of this visit as a parallel to Theophanes' trip: (1) the context of Theodore's letter indicates that he went there on his way back from Con-

monastery, of which he became abbot, until 814. In that year, Leo V commanded abbots of important monasteries to come to Constantinople, and Theophanes, an ailing man of fifty-four, was one of those summoned.<sup>145</sup> Theophanes was never to see Agros again, though his body was returned there in triumph in 819, after it had lain in state and wrought miracles in nearby Hiereia for one year. He was buried at Agros in a monument "on the right side of the church," in the spot where he used to sit while singing psalms.<sup>146</sup> His grave became a pilgrims' goal and a source of miraculous cures from the very beginning. Theodore of Studios seems to have visited Agros—unfortunately, we do not know at what date;<sup>147</sup> as early as 825, Saint Ioannikios came there to worship before Theophanes' tomb and relics "gushing with miracles."<sup>148</sup>

Theophanes' *Chronicle* is his main claim for recognition by posterity. As we learn from the preface to that work, he conceived the idea of writing it towards the end of George Synkellos' life—George left an unfinished chronicle (which stopped at the reign of Diocletian) and urged Theophanes to continue it up to their own time—but started work on his own *χρονογραφείον* probably only after George's death in 810–11. He finished it sometime after 813, which is the date of the last events recorded in the *Chronicle*; but where did he write it?

One might be tempted to speculate that the writing was done during Theophanes' forced stay in the capital, between 814 and

816, since the monastery of Sergius and Bacchus, in which he was for a while confined, could have provided him with the sources necessary for the compilation of the *Chronicle*, and later on he could have worked in the prison of the palace of Eleutherios. However, perusal of the last pages of the *Chronicle* leaves no doubt that Theophanes wrote it before his imprisonment by Leo V. In these last pages, Leo—then still a mere patrician—is called "pious"; this usurper's proclamation as emperor is "most lawful"; and Theophanes reports the iconodulic Patriarch Nikephoros' advice that Michael I should abdicate in favor of Leo.<sup>149</sup> Such language could not have been used by a martyr of faith detained at Constantinople after Leo V had shown his true colors.

The *Chronicle*, then, was finished before 814; it follows that it was written entirely at Megas Agros. This throws some light on the bibliographical resources of a ninth-century provincial monastery, for Theophanes himself mentions his having "sought out many books" for the purpose of writing his *Chronicle*. This work draws on a sizable number of sources, some extant and familiar to us, such as Theodoret, Procopius, Malalas, George of Pisidia, and Theophylaktos Simokattes, and some postulated, such as the *μέγας χρονογράφος* and a Melkite source, written in Greek in Palestine after 780.<sup>150</sup>

The early days of Megas Agros seem to have been its most glorious ones; we hear relatively little about it in subsequent centuries. Two letters of Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos (probably dating from the years 906–11) are addressed to an ex-magister Ignatius, who had become—or had been made—a monk at Megas Agros. There, Ignatius excelled in piety, but did not limit himself to contemplation: he wrote Nicholas memoranda about the Tetragamy affair and denunciations of some prelate.<sup>151</sup> According

stantinople to Cyzicus, rather than from Cyzicus; (2) the thermal baths in Yalova were restored by Leo VI, and it is not known whether they were in operation at the end of the eighth century.

<sup>145</sup> Combine Theosteriktos, *Vita Nicetae Mediciensis*, BHG<sup>3</sup>, no. 1341, chap. 38, p. 25, with VM, 29,13–15. — On summons issued to Makarios of Pelekete about 814, cf. p. 245 *supra*.

<sup>146</sup> VM, 38,19–27.

<sup>147</sup> Assuming Theodore to have been the author of the *Panegyric*, BHG<sup>3</sup>, no. 1792b, ed. Van de Vorst, 22,7–8: οὗ <i.e., the beautiful monastery of Theophanes> τῆς τερπνότητος ἡ δ' ψις μάλλον διδάσκαλος.

<sup>148</sup> Sabas, *Vita Ioannicii*, BHG<sup>3</sup>, no. 935, 360BC (σκήνος... θανάσιμος). For the date, cf. 359B.

<sup>149</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I (as in note 59 *supra*), 502,4, 10–12, 24.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. E. W. Brooks, "The Sources of Theophanes and the Syriac Chronicles," BZ, 15 (1906), 578–87, and G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*<sup>2</sup>, I (Berlin 1958), 531–32.

<sup>151</sup> *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters*, ed. and trans. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, I (Washington, D.C., 1973), nos. 126 and 143 = pp. 420–22 and 456–57.

to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Magister Leo Katakylas was a monk in that monastery under Leo VI or soon afterward. Katakylas may have been a mediocre writer, and his style full of solecisms, but he did treat a topic on which Constantine could find no bibliography in the Imperial Palace, namely, the procedures to be followed during imperial military campaigns. What is more, he seems to have written on this subject at Agros; at least it is there that Constantine discovered a copy of Leo's treatise.<sup>152</sup> Leo was, then, the second author residing at Agros, and his work another—and rare—volume produced or at least kept in that monastery's library.<sup>153</sup>

In the eleventh century, Psellos spoke of "our" Agros in his letter about the intended journey to Medikion. This possessive may

<sup>152</sup> *De Cerim.*, I, Bonn ed., 456,13–457,13, cf. especially 456,15–17: *περί τούτων ὑπόμνημα ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ καλουμένῃ Σιγριανῆς εὐρεῖν ἡδυνήθημεν*. Cf. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*... (Paris, 1971), 273–74, and A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London, 1973), 578–79 (the author speaks of a 'Sighrianes' monastery). — Pargoire, "Saint Théophane" (as in note 139 *supra*), 94, is inclined to identify Nicholas Mystikos' Ignatius with Constantine's Leo Katakylas, presumably because they both were *magistri* and lived under Leo VI. The occasion which sent Leo-Ignatius to Agros would be the Tetragamy affair. For our purposes, it should be noted that in the early ninth century Agros received a monk, if not monks, who had enjoyed high social status as laymen.

<sup>153</sup> Two more volumes must be assigned to our Agros. One of them is the present *Parisinus Graecus* 216, a tenth-century luxury manuscript of the Acts and Epistles (with commentary). According to a (thirteenth-century?) remark on fol. 2<sup>r</sup>, it once belonged to the monastery; cf. the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Byzance et la France médiévale* (Paris, 1958), 9–10 = no. 13 (with bibliography), and J. Darrouzès, "Notes d'Asie mineure," in *Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου*, 26 (1964), 30–31 and 35 (reproduction of owners' notes). *Ca.* the thirteenth century, the library of Megas Agros possessed thirty-five volumes. Unfortunately, the list of titles itself has perished. Cf. Darrouzès, *op. cit.*, 35. The other manuscript is *Parisinus Graecus* 1538 (eleventh century; *Vitae* of saints); it belonged to Agros in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, cf. Darrouzès, *op. cit.*, 33, 38. — For manuscripts attributable to other monasteries by the name of Agros, cf. note 111 *supra*.

have been merely an indication that the place was known both to Psellos and to his addressee; however, it is more likely that Psellos made the sea voyage on business<sup>154</sup> and that he counted Agros among the several *charistikai* which he possessed in the area at one time or another. Some of them, such as Artigenous and Muntania, were under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Cyzicus; others, such as Medikion, lay nearby.<sup>155</sup>

After 1204, the region of Agros may have been affected by the intermittent warfare which the Latins of Constantinople waged against the emperors of Nicaea. To be sure, sources do not mention Agros specifically, the Sigrene mountain of George Akropolites and Theodore Skutariotes seems to be west of the Cyzicus peninsula,<sup>156</sup> and the Latin razzias were conducted mainly from Lampsacus (Lapseki) and Pegai (Karabiga). However, the Latins did occupy Panormos (Bandırma) and Cyzicus in 1204 and 1206–20, respectively,<sup>157</sup> and therefore could easily have reached Agros. Thus, if the tradition that the monastery suffered "from the crusaders" or "from the Pope" has any foundation in fact, the damage may already have occurred in the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>154</sup> *Ep.* 13, ed. Kurtz-Drexler, 15,5–19; Psellos speaks of a "wedding" which came to an end (we do not know whether it was an actual wedding or a symbolic wedding to a monastery, i.e., receiving a *charistike* and giving it up, cf. *πῆξον...μοι τὴν νυμφικὴν παστιάδα*, meaning, "give me a monastery in *charistike*," used by Psellos in his letter to the Metropolitan of Cyzicus; Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 5 [Venice, 1876], 457). Initially, he intends to return to his studies; however, the devil changes his mind, *ἀπολαύσεις ἀναπείθων λογίεσθαι καὶ μεταβολάς*, which we translate "persuading me to calculate advantages and barter." Psellos decides to sail to Medikion and Agros.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Ahrweiler, "Charisticariat" (as in note 37 *supra*), 24–25, with source references.

<sup>156</sup> Akropolites, 46,10–11 and 68,6–7, ed. Heisenberg (as in note 86 *supra*) = Theodore Skutariotes, ed. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 (Venice, 1894), 476,29–30, and 488,31–489,1.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (as in note 23 *supra*), 197–99.

<sup>158</sup> The tradition is related by Nikodemos of Cyzicus, *Ἀκολουθία* (as in note 131 *supra*), λς', and vigorously denied by Pargoire, "Saint Théophane," 94–95, who points to the Catalans as possible culprits.

This damage, if real, did not interrupt life at Agros for long. We know that the rhetor Manuel Holobolos was disgraced and publicly humiliated by Michael VIII in 1273; and we know further that in 1283, after Andronicus II inherited the throne and changed the Empire's religious policy, Holobolos returned to the capital from Megas Agros.<sup>159</sup> We therefore can assume that Holobolos spent his ten years of banishment at the monastery. Granted, some of Holobolos' fulsome versified praise of Michael VIII dates from 1279–80 and 1281, respectively, and one of his poems was to be delivered at the time of the imperial *prokypsis* ceremony, hence in the capital.<sup>160</sup> However, Holobolos did not necessarily have to be present in Constantinople on those dates: he may have composed his poetry at Agros and sent it to the capital in hopes of mollifying his imperial tormentor.

When Holobolos resided at Agros, the monastery was not under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, but under that of Athanasios, patriarch of Alexandria. About 1272, that prelate obtained from Michael VIII a chrysobull granting him the revenues of Megas Agros. Athanasios I of Constantinople (first Patriarchate: 1289–93) would not tolerate this infringement upon his rights. A quarrel ensued, which ended with the return of Agros to the fold of the Ecumenical Patriarchate before 1293.<sup>161</sup> It is to this quarrel that we owe an interesting glimpse of Agros. We learn from a letter which Athanasios of Constantinople wrote about 1305 that a representative of Athanasios of Alexandria had a life-sized image of Christ at the monastery of Megas Agros replaced by a portrait of the Emperor.<sup>162</sup>

Since the addressee of the letter in which this report occurs was Andronicus II, it is unlikely that the offending imperial portrait was his. It must have been that of his predecessor, Michael VIII, and it was put up in gratitude for the chrysobull granted to Athanasios of Alexandria. The thirteenth-century (?) fresco fragment of a scroll which we have mentioned (p. 258 and fig. 131) is probably connected with Athanasios of Alexandria's renovation of the monastery.

The story of the substitution of images at Megas Agros is the last known mention of that monastery in Byzantine times. We can only speculate on the damage which the Catalans may have caused to Agros either in 1303–4, when their company, still in the Empire's service, spent the winter on the Cyzicus peninsula,<sup>163</sup> or about 1307, when their troops, by then foes of the Empire, raided Artake (Erdek) on that peninsula.<sup>164</sup> We found no reference to the monastery of Megas Agros in patriarchal documents of the post-Byzantine period.

##### 5. Malkara Üstü and Timanyo

If Megas Agros was in fact situated on the present farm of Mehmet Köse, the monastery Polichnion-Polychronia should be sought nearby. Unfortunately, Methodius' *Vita* does not specify whether Polichnion lay west or east of Agros; we recall that he gives only the distance—six *semeia* or miles—between the two.

We found Byzantine remains in two areas situated at a distance of roughly ten kilometers east and west of Mehmet Köse's farm. The place to the east of the postulated site of Agros is Malkara Üstü (Upper Malkara), so called to differentiate it from Malkara

<sup>159</sup> Pachymeres, *Hist.*, I, Bonn ed., 392,10–394,18; II, 25,13–15. On the affair, cf. M. Treu, "Manuel Holobolos," *BZ*, 5 (1896), 538–59, esp. 545–47.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. *Poems* 2 and 17, ed. J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, 5 (Paris, 1833), 160–61, 178–79.

<sup>161</sup> Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, Bonn ed., 203,6–10. Cf. Laurent, *Les regestes* (as in note 6 *supra*), no. 1614, esp. p. 406; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, 4 (Munich-Berlin, 1960), no. 2179 = p. 23.

<sup>162</sup> Cf., e.g., *Vaticanus Graecus* 2219, fol. 49r; Laurent, *Les regestes*, 404, 406. The letter bears no. 69 in the forthcoming edition of Athanasios I's correspondence by Professor

Alice-Mary Talbot. The relevant passage runs as follows: τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν εἰκόνι ἱστάμενον εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ, ὁ δικαίως σταλεῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔφριξεν ὁ Θεοστυγῆς διασπάσαι καὶ στήλην βασιλικὴν κολακείᾳ ἀντιστηλῶσαι τυφλούμενος. A note of caution: δικαίως means "as a representative of <Athanasios>," not "a *dikaïos* <of Athanasios>".

<sup>163</sup> Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, chaps. 203–4, *Collecció Popular Barcino*, 145 (Barcelona, 1951), 25–32; Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, Bonn ed., 399,6–400,2.

<sup>164</sup> Pachymeres, *Hist.*, II, Bonn ed., 529,1–2.

below, about eight kilometers east of the village of Kurşunlu.

Malkara seems to be an alternate name for Mağara, "cave," as a large natural cave, now accessible from the shore, was hollowed out by the sea not far from the starting point of the path which leads up to Malkara Üstü. One reaches the site after slightly less than one hour's ascent; the descent takes about twenty minutes. A spring is only about fifty meters away from the site, and must have determined its choice. The place has been thoroughly plundered for building material—a deep trench in one spot testifies to this. Consequently, very few remains are visible at present: an almost complete quadrangular slab ( $0.57 \times 0.65$  m.), several broken slabs, a number of pieces of worked marble, fragments of Ionic impost capitals—one of them with a cross and an egg-and-dart motif on the opposite face—and a fragment of a chancel slab. These fragments, several of which were photographed together (figs. 57, 58), may be as early as the sixth century. The fragments at Malkara Üstü, sparse as they are, prove that a church—and probably a monastery—existed at roughly the same distance east from Mehmet Köse's farm as Polichnion was distant from Agros.

The place lying about ten kilometers to the west of the postulated site of Agros is called Çiftlik or Timanyo; the latter name seems to go back to the Greek (τιμάριον = *timar*?). Timanyo is a tillable plain extending about five hundred meters along the shore and five to six hundred meters inland. Today, it has an artificial harbor, too dangerous to use in rough weather (fig. 136). A sizable stream runs along the western edge of the plain. Within living memory, Timanyo belonged to an Albanian; about 1920 it was bought by the mayor of Bandırma, who put up the stone structure still standing on the shore; at present, it is owned in common by the villagers of Yeniceköy.<sup>165</sup> A modern tile with Greek letters found near the shore points to Greek occupation of Timanyo before 1922. It is not clear whether the foundations of houses on a terrace in the northeast area of the plain are mediaeval or modern. However, Timanyo was undoubt-

<sup>165</sup> Information obtained orally at the coffee-house of Yeniceköy in August 1972.

edly inhabited in Byzantine times. This is attested by several fragments found in or near the structure built by the mayor of Bandırma: a column shaft, part of an Ionic capital, and a chancel slab (figs. 137, 138).

Malkara Üstü and Timanyo are thus two possible sites for Polichnion-Polychronia. Of the two, we prefer Timanyo, for, like Polichnion, it is close to the sea, while Malkara Üstü is farther inland. Even if neither of these places should turn out to be Polichnion, the presence of Byzantine remains there attests to the density of monastic establishments along the south shore of the Marmara Sea at the foot of the Sigriane mountain range.

We know next to nothing about the history of Polichnion. The very name of the monastery is transmitted in several forms: in Greek, it appears as Polichnion, Polychronia, and perhaps Polychronion.<sup>166</sup> Polichnion is the original form, as it is the only one that occurs in the *Vita* by Methodius. However, we do not consider Polychronia or Polychronion errors, but rather early variants of the monastery's name. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain the appearance of the form Polihron in two early Slavic texts: the *Vita* of Saint Methodius, the apostle of the Slavs, written in the late ninth century, and the *Laudation* of Saints Cyril and Methodius, written about the year 900, possibly by Clement of Ochrid (d. 916).<sup>167</sup> Polichnion was situated on Theophanes' property. Shortly after 780, the Saint was tonsured there in the presence of his wife by Father Strategios.

<sup>166</sup> Polichnion: e.g., *VM*, 15,21 and 25,20 (the only form occurring in that text); *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1791, ed. Krumbacher, 392,7; Polychronia: *Vita* of Theophanes, ed. de Boor (as in note 107 *supra*), 29,5; Polychronion does occur in *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1790, as edited by Goar, cf., e.g., *PG*, 108, col. 28D, but de Boor's edition of the same text, 18,38, has πολυχνίω in the corresponding spot.

<sup>167</sup> *Vita* of Methodius, apostle of the Slavs, chap. 4, ed., e.g., P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (Leningrad, 1930), 71; *Laudation* of Cyril and Methodius, *ibid.*, 81: *postaviša i igumena v manastyri iže naricajetse imenem Polihronъ, v njemъže bęše o(tъ)съ ѿ.* For the claim that the *Laudation* is by Clement of Ochrid, cf., most recently, B. St. Angelov, K. M. Kuev, Hr. Kodov, eds., *Kliment Ohridski, Sbrani sčinenija*, I (Sofia, 1970), 444–47.



Soon afterwards, Theophanes donated Polichnion to Strategios and his community.<sup>168</sup>

We hear for the second—and last—time about Polichnion from the two Slavic sources just quoted. These two are really one, since the *Laudation* depends on the *Vita*. The latter text has this to say: "... the Emperor and the Patriarch ... urged him [i.e., Methodius] onto *the way of God*<sup>169</sup> so that they might have him consecrated archbishop of a worthy spot, where a man like him would be needed. When he refused, they compelled him and ordained him abbot in the monastery called Polihron; its worth [?] is twenty-four pounds [?] of gold, and it has more than seventy fathers."<sup>170</sup> The author of the *Vita* inserts the passage about Polichnion between Methodius' (and his brother Cyril's) missions to the Khazars and to Rostislav, prince of Moravia, the former dating from 861, the latter, from 863. It is quite likely that Methodius was made abbot of our monastery between these two years; if so, the patriarch who was instrumental in this nomination was Photius himself. Although Methodius was never to return to Polichnion after the Slavic mission began in 863, he must have retained the title of abbot for a while, for he is given it in the speech which the author of the *Vita* has Emperor Michael III deliver on the eve of the Thessalonian brothers' departure for Moravia.<sup>171</sup>

There is no need to doubt the identity of the Slavic Polihron with Polichnion-Polychronia of the Greek *Vitae*. In secondary literature dealing with the *Vita Methodii*, Polihron is sometimes located on or near Bithynian Olympus.<sup>172</sup> The Slavic *Vita* of

<sup>168</sup> VM, 15,20–22, 15,32–16,1.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Matth. 22:16, Mark 12:14, Luke 20:21, Acts 18:26.

<sup>170</sup> C(ε)s(a)rb i patriarh... na b(o)zii put' bēdiša i, da byša i s(vē)tili arhiep(i)s(ko)pa na čestnoe mēsto, ideže est' potreba takogo muža. Ne račōšju že, unudiša i i postaviša i igumena vō manastyri, iže naricajet'se Polihron, jemuže jest' smēra k i d spudove zlata, a o(tō)cb obile ō vō njem jest'.

<sup>171</sup> Vita of Methodius, chap. 5, ed., e.g., Lavrov, 72 (Emperor speaks to St. Cyril): i poimō bratō svoi igumēn Mefedii, idi že.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), 210–11. — Hr. Loparev in *VizVrem*, 18 (1911), 69 note 2, considers the evidence of the Slavic *Vita Methodii* spurious. We disagree.

Methodius, however, does not give any details about Polihron's location. The phrase "Olympus, where Holy Fathers live" and where Methodius went to become a monk occurs in a different passage and, logically enough, refers to an earlier period, that preceding the Khazar mission of 861.<sup>173</sup> Even if Polihron had been assigned to Olympus by the authors of the Slavic texts, their usage would not have been unparalleled: we find this usage in a tenth-century Greek source, the *Dithyramb* on Theophanes.<sup>174</sup> When the author of the *Dithyramb* came to speak of the monastery where the Saint was tonsured, he called it "a certain place in the area of Olympus"—and we already know that the tonsure took place in Polichnion-Polihron.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>173</sup> Vita of Methodius, chap. 3, ed., e.g., Lavrov, 71: i šbdō vō Alimbō, ideže živut' s(vē)tili o(tō)ci, postrigō sē oblēče vō čerņy rīzy. — Vita of Constantine, chap. 7, gives the same chronology: when Constantine is reported to join his brother in Olympus (vō Olimbō že šed kō Mefodiju bratu svoemu), the Vita has him sojourn there before the Khazar mission.

<sup>174</sup> BHG<sup>3</sup>, no. 1792. Chronological limits of the *Dithyramb* are given by the passage in which the author refers to the emperor of the day (an adult man) as a relative of Theophanes (617,22–23). Since Theophanes was a great-uncle of Zoe Karbunopsina, mother of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the emperor in question could have been Constantine himself (an adult co-emperor by ca. 925; d. 959), the latter's son Romanos II (d. 963), or his grandsons Basil II (d. 1025) or Constantine VIII (d. 1028). — For slightly narrower limits (920–59), cf. Krumbacher's edition of the *Dithyramb*, 596. — If we understand the author's obscure style correctly, the congregation was celebrating Theophanes' memory (feast day: March 12) on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (609,1–5, 12–15, 24–26). Between 920 and 1028, the Sunday of Orthodoxy fell on March 12 only in 976. However, we must abstain from dating our *Dithyramb* to that year; an important saint, such as Theophanes, was commemorated on the Saturday or Sunday preceding the day of his feast; cf., e.g., A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskikh rukopisej...*, I (Kiev, 1895), 428. Thus the *Dithyramb* could have been pronounced any time, say, between March 7 and 12, and the author's allusions cannot be used for dating it.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. BHG<sup>3</sup>, no. 1792, 611,9–21: καὶ τὴν μὲν [i.e., Theophanes' wife]...μονάῳ ὑπεδέχετο βίος, τὸν δὲ [i.e., Theophanes] καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὁμοίᾳ τῇ προθυμίᾳ...πρὸς τινὰ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων μερῶν χάρον [a lacuna follows]. This passage

The size of Polihron's community—more than seventy fathers—puts it in the same class as two other important monasteries of the area, Sakkudion and Medikion, each of which had a community of roughly one hundred monks about the year 800.<sup>176</sup> One hundred must have been a considerable number, for the biographer of Niketas of Medikion praises his hero for having recruited that many monks for the monastery. By way of comparison, let us recall that the foundation charter of the Great Lavra of Athos foresaw a community of eighty monks, that a monastery at Nicaea had forty-two monks, that the three monasteries of Mount Galesios for which St. Lazarus (d. 1054) wrote his charter had to have sixty-four monks, and that the size of an average Byzantine monastery has been recently assessed at ten to twenty monks.<sup>177</sup>

The words of the Slavic *Vita* which precede the information on Polihron's size—*jemuže estb sčměra k. i d. spōdove zlata*—are difficult to understand. *Sčměra* corresponds both to μέτρον, "measure," and to σταθμός, "weight"; this is the first ambiguity. Usually, *spōdō* translates μόδιος. In the New Testament, this word denotes a dry measure corresponding to about nine liters. In Byzantine times the *modios* as a dry measure had varying values; often it was equivalent to forty *litrai*, or pounds, which in turn corresponded to about twelve kilograms of wheat. However, the *modios* was also a surface measure, the extent of which fluctuated between about 900 and 1280 square meters;<sup>178</sup> this is the second ambiguity. Translating "its area is of twenty-four *modioi*" will not do, since this would give Polihron about three hectares, too little to

support a community of over seventy monks. Nor can we render "its yield is twenty four *modioi*," for we learn from the *Vita* of St. Peter of Atroa that Balentia, a rather small monastery in the neighboring region, needed thirty *modioi* of wheat per month for the upkeep of its community of fifteen.<sup>179</sup> However, in our passage *spōdō*, "*modios*," is followed by *zlata*, "of gold." We suggest the meaning "twenty four pounds of gold" and apply it to the worth of the monastery, rather than to its yearly revenue. To be sure, the meaning λίτρα, "pound," for *spōdō* is not attested, but we know—to give an example—that the sum total of revenue of the Nicaean monastery, to which we just alluded, was measured in "pounds of hyperpera."<sup>180</sup>

Although the passage of the *Vita Methodii* is probably corrupt, its general message is clear: in the sixties of the ninth century, Polihron was a large and wealthy establishment. At about the same time, it almost became the shrine of an important relic: the body of Saint Constantine-Cyril, who died in Rome in 869, was to be brought to Polihron to be buried there. Such was the original injunction which Constantine and Methodius had received from their mother: "And Methodius, his brother, asked the Apostolic Father, saying: 'Our mother adjured us that whichever of the two of us should be called to Judgment first, <the surviving brother> should take him to his, the brother's, monastery and bury him there.'" However, Roman bishops insisted that Cyril be buried in Rome, and their counsel prevailed.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>179</sup> Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse* (as in note 65 *supra*), 167 = chap. 50, 7–8.

<sup>180</sup> Chr. Papadopoulos, 'Η Νίκαια . . . , in 'Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, 33 (1910–11, printed in 1914), 138: ΟΜΟΥ ΛΥΤΡ(ΑΙ) ΥΠΕΡ(ΠΥΡΩΝ).

<sup>181</sup> *Vita* of Constantine, chap. 18, ed., e.g., Lavrov, 35–36. — For the sake of completeness, we report that a note in *Barberinianus Graecus* 319 (date: 1039), fol. 174<sup>v</sup>, states that Monk Barthelemew τοῦ Πολυχρόνι bought the manuscript for three nomismata in Jerusalem in 1168. Barthelemew was a pilgrim; but it is not clear whether he was the son of a Polychronios, or whether he came from our monastery. The former is more likely. Cf. K. Lake and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, fasc. VII (Boston, 1937), 15 = no. 285 and plate 518.

corresponds to *VM*, 15, 20–26, describing Theophanes' tonsure at Polichnion and his wife's taking the veil at Prinkipo.

<sup>176</sup> Medikion: *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1341, *ActaSS*<sup>3</sup>, April, I, chap. 10, p. xx. For Sakkudion, cf. Menthon, *L'Olympe* (as in note 45 *supra*), 162. — We were not able to find Menthon's source for this statement.

<sup>177</sup> Cf. P. Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," *DOP*, 25 (1971), esp. 69–72, and (for Mt. Galesios), *ActaSS*, November, III, 585D.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Schilbach, *Metrologie* (as in note 125 *supra*), 66.

6. *Yenice and Manastır*

The village of Yenice is situated thirteen kilometers east of Bandırma, and *ca.* twenty kilometers west of Kurşunlu. In 1971, it could be reached from either place only by boat. The village has two natural coves; the present harbor is located in the western one. In 1910, its inhabitants were Greeks and Lazes from Samsun; in 1972, they were Turks from Thessalonica and Kavalla, resettled there after the war of 1922.<sup>182</sup> As a consequence, the antiquarian and topographical knowledge of the present-day residents of Yeniceköy does not reach beyond that year. Nevertheless, some memories have been preserved; thus the site of the St. Anne monastery, lying about twenty-five minutes' walk east of Yenice, and described by Pančenko in 1910, is called Manastır today.

In Yenice proper, Pančenko found no archeological remains, except for small artifacts of the Roman period which peasants dug out from graves in nearby wooded hills and offered for sale.<sup>183</sup> We did come across some fragments of Byzantine church architecture. In the village fountain a sarcophagus serves as the trough, and a mullion and the colonnette of an iconostasis parapet are used as stepping stones (fig. 139). The mullion and the colonnette are said to have been found in a field adjacent to the road leading west from the village, about five minutes' walk from the fountain. We visited that site, and saw there a large threshold block, fragments of column shafts, and a column base. Moreover, it is reportedly from there that a parapet slab had been transported to one of the houses in the village. The slab, 0.86 × 1.16 m., displays the usual cross and vine motif on one side, and a cross in a circle on the other, and should be assigned to the sixth century (figs. 145, 146). We were told of inscriptions both east and west of Yenice and at Timanyo, but we cannot vouch for the reliability of this information.

Given the presence of Byzantine remains at Yenice, the question arises as to the mediaeval identity of the site. It is at

<sup>182</sup> Cf., on the one hand, Pančenko, *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 264, and, on the other, information obtained orally on the spot in 1971.

<sup>183</sup> Pančenko, *ibid.*

Hiereia, mentioned in the *Vitae* of Theophanes, that the Saint's body lay in state for about a year, having been brought there by ship from Samothrace soon after Theophanes' death in March of 818.<sup>184</sup> While we do not know whether Polichnion lay west or east of Agros, we may safely assume that Hiereia was west of it, since a ship leaving from Samothrace and presumably bound for Theophanes' monastery would deposit her precious cargo in a place lying between that island and Agros.

We recall that Hiereia, lying to the west of Megas Agros, was twelve miles distant from it. If Mehmet Köse's farm near Kurşunlu is in fact the former monastery of Megas Agros, then Yeniceköy, situated about twelve miles west of Kurşunlu, may be the site of Hiereia, with its martyrion of St. Procopius. However, as long as no trace of that martyrion is found at Yeniceköy, we must consider other candidates for the location of Hiereia as well. Dutlimanı (Pančenko's Sykamia, lying between Yeniceköy and Bandırma) is one such candidate, since it has an ancient or mediaeval harbor, and some Byzantine architectural remains.<sup>185</sup> Nor should Bandırma itself be eliminated: its Byzantine name, Panormos, is no obstacle to its identification with Hiereia, for the sources do not mention the toponym Panormos before the thirteenth century.<sup>186</sup>

The site called Manastır today is at a twenty-five minutes' walk northeast of Yenice, and a quarter of an hour's walk from the seashore. The place itself has an abundant supply of water, at present channeled into a modern fountain, and lies in the midst of a grove of plane trees. This is the former monastery of St. Anne. The fullest account of it is that given by Pančenko,<sup>187</sup> who found

<sup>184</sup> E.g., *VM*, 37,10–15 (time of body's arrival: Easter), 38,19–20 (body stays in Hiereia for one year); *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, no. 1791, ed. Krumbacher, 398,4–6 (time of body's arrival: Christmas; body moved to Agros at Easter—the passage is corrupt).

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Pančenko, *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 262. — It appears now that Hiereia should not be sought at Dutlimanı. See Additional Note *infra*.

<sup>186</sup> This according to Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (as in note 23 *supra*), 50.

<sup>187</sup> *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 264–67. Cf. also the Ἡμερολόγιον (as in note 136 *supra*), 181.

there in 1910 a small church tended by one old monk. Round about were considerable ruins, all overgrown. Various antique and Byzantine fragments had been either deposited or built into the church (of which we no longer found the foundations in 1971). Among antique fragments Pančenko listed the following: 1) A funerary stele representing four recumbent figures, presumably members of a *thiasos* (=our fig. 140). The stele appears to have been complete at that time and had no inscription. 2) A piece of ornamental sculpture with a series of circles superimposed upon diamonds. 3) Several fragments of columns, namely an Ionic base of the Hellenistic period, a Doric capital, and part of a slender shaft of red marble with fluting. 4) Four composite capitals similar to those in the Kurşunlu monastery. Two of these measured 0.55 m. between the ends of their volutes and comprised three rows of acanthus leaves (=our fig. 143). The other two measured 0.72 m. in width and were of a different design. They had three (read "two") rows of complex acanthus leaves and an acanthus ornament both between the volutes and on the fillet (= our fig. 141). We may add that the latter pair, with their double leaves of fine-toothed acanthus, were certainly of fifth-century date.<sup>188</sup>

Among Christian remains, Pančenko enumerates: 1) Part of a cornice with a cross flanked by half palmettes that formed a pointed arch over it. 2) A capital in the form of a truncated pyramid having a square abacus, 0.52 m. wide. On the sides of the abacus was a continuous vine without leaves. On two sides of the capital was a cross with flaring ends, flanked in the upper quarters by two doves, their heads turned inwards, and in the lower quarters by two pomegranates. On either side of each cross was a branch of acanthus. On the lateral sides of the capital was a six-leaved rosette inscribed in a circle.

Pančenko noted a number of inscriptions, some of which have also been published by Hasluck.<sup>189</sup> We reprint the only one that

was of the Byzantine period, transcribed by both scholars. As Hasluck realized, it was broken into two fragments. The text, we add, is in dodecasyllables.

#### Fragment 1:

Above, cross on orb, in angles of cross  $\overline{\phi} \overline{\chi} \overline{\phi} \overline{\pi}$   
(= φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσι)  
Ἐνταῦθα τὸν<sup>190</sup> | χοῦν καὶ τὸ θν[ῆ]|σκοῦν  
σαρκίον

#### Fragment 2:

[νε. . . . .]  
ἀγούσα πέμπτ[ην] | ἑβδομὰς τὴν | ἡμέραν |  
ἕκτη χιλιάς, | ἑκατοντὰς | ἡ πέμπτῃ.

The date was broken off, since, to judge from the approximate facsimile reproduced by Hasluck, the inscription was certainly later than 992 (= 6500). Pančenko, who did not connect the two fragments, guessed from the character of the letters that the first one must have been of the twelfth or thirteenth century. However, since the two fragments belonged together, their date must fall within the years 6500 and 6600 of the Byzantine era, that is, 992–1092. The fragments should probably be dated to the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>191</sup>

In addition to fragments recorded by Pančenko, we found remnants of at least four mullions, and a number of blackened bricks, the latter suggesting that the whole complex may have been burned at one time.

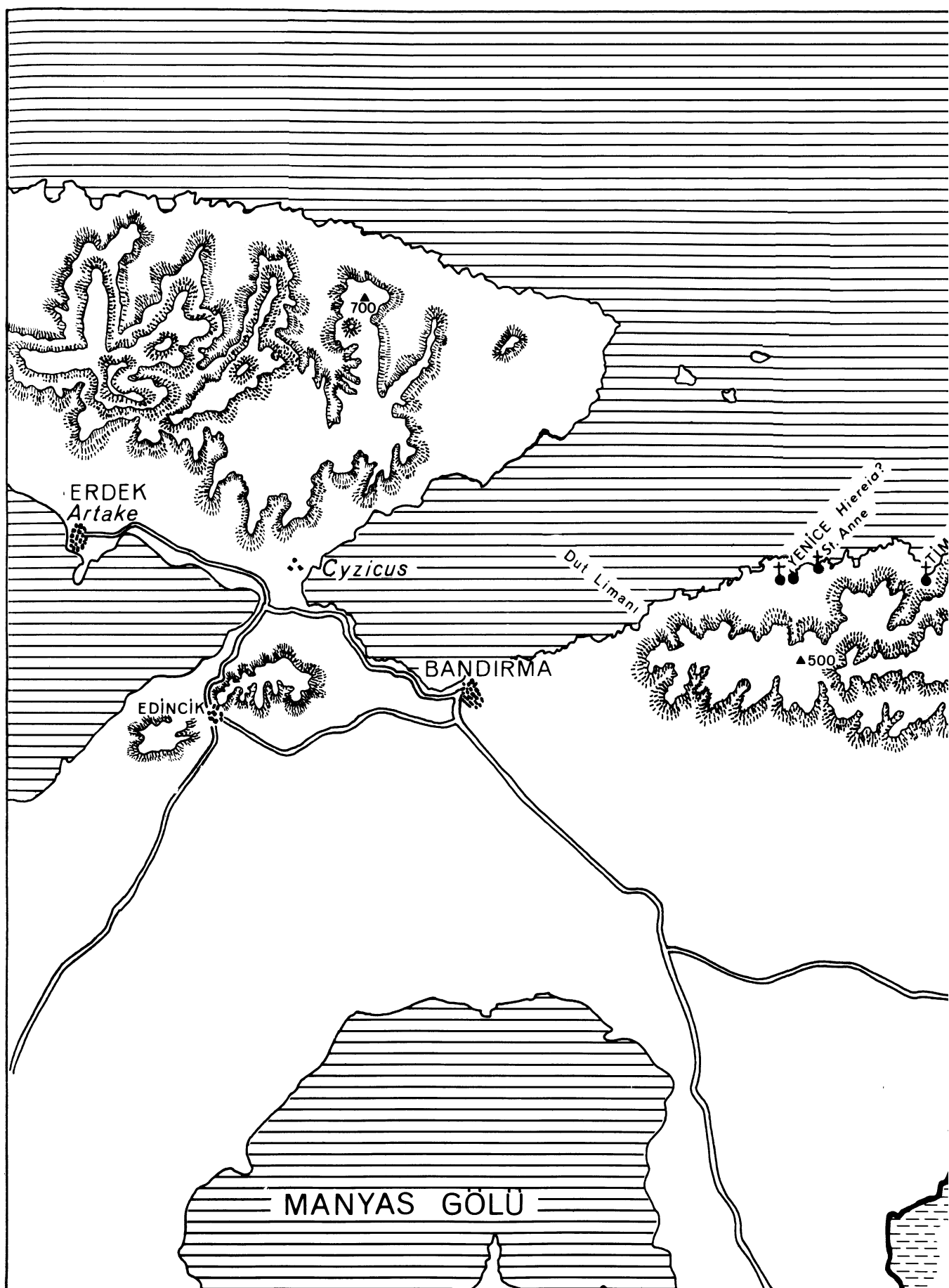
Twenty to thirty meters further down from the scattered ruins, there are traces of a regular retaining wall with rounded buttresses similar to those of the retaining walls on Mehmet Köse's farm near Kurşunlu.

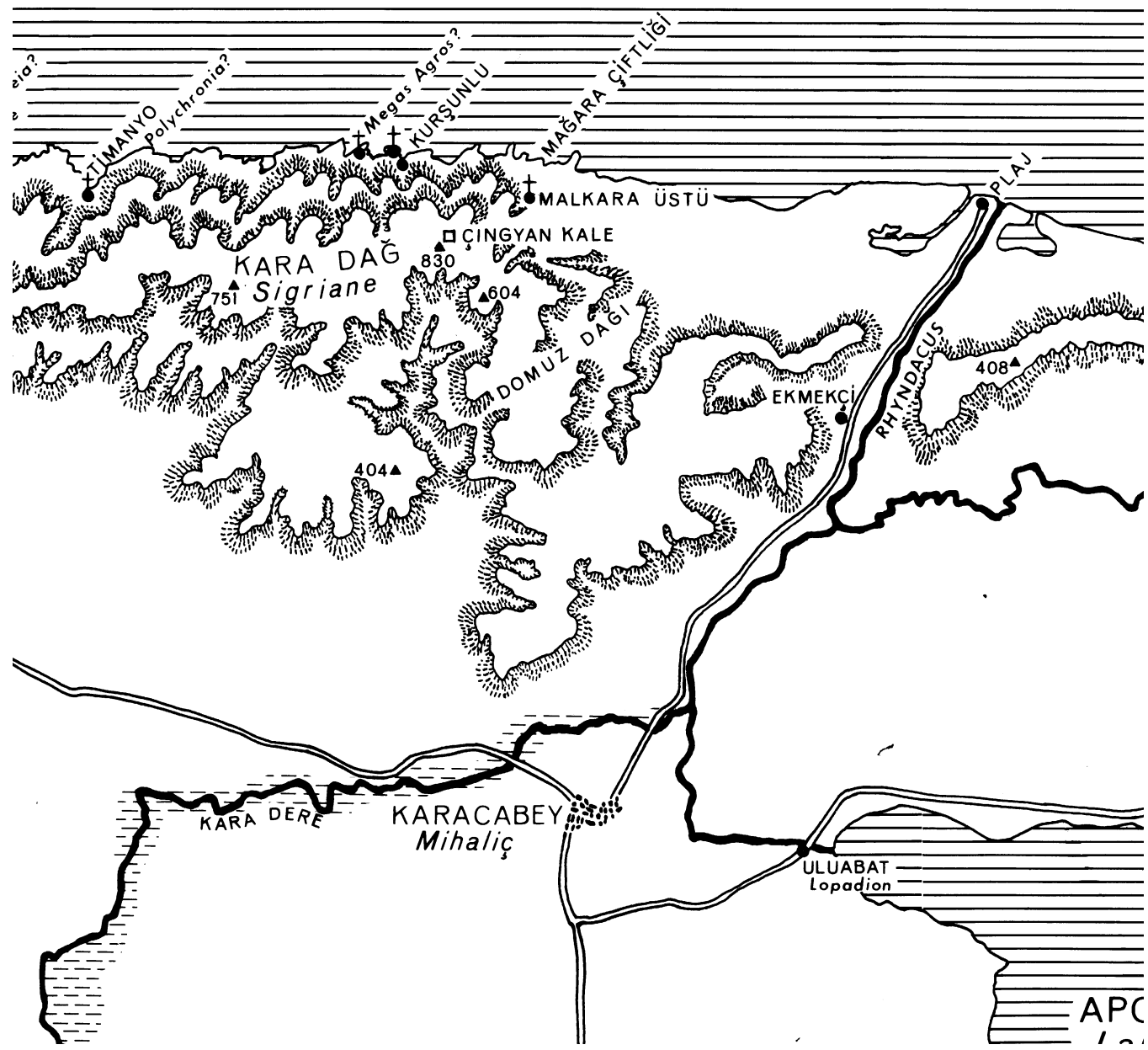
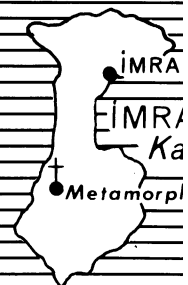
<sup>190</sup> Pančenko reads τὸν, Hasluck, τεν.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (as in note 85 *supra*), 133 ff.

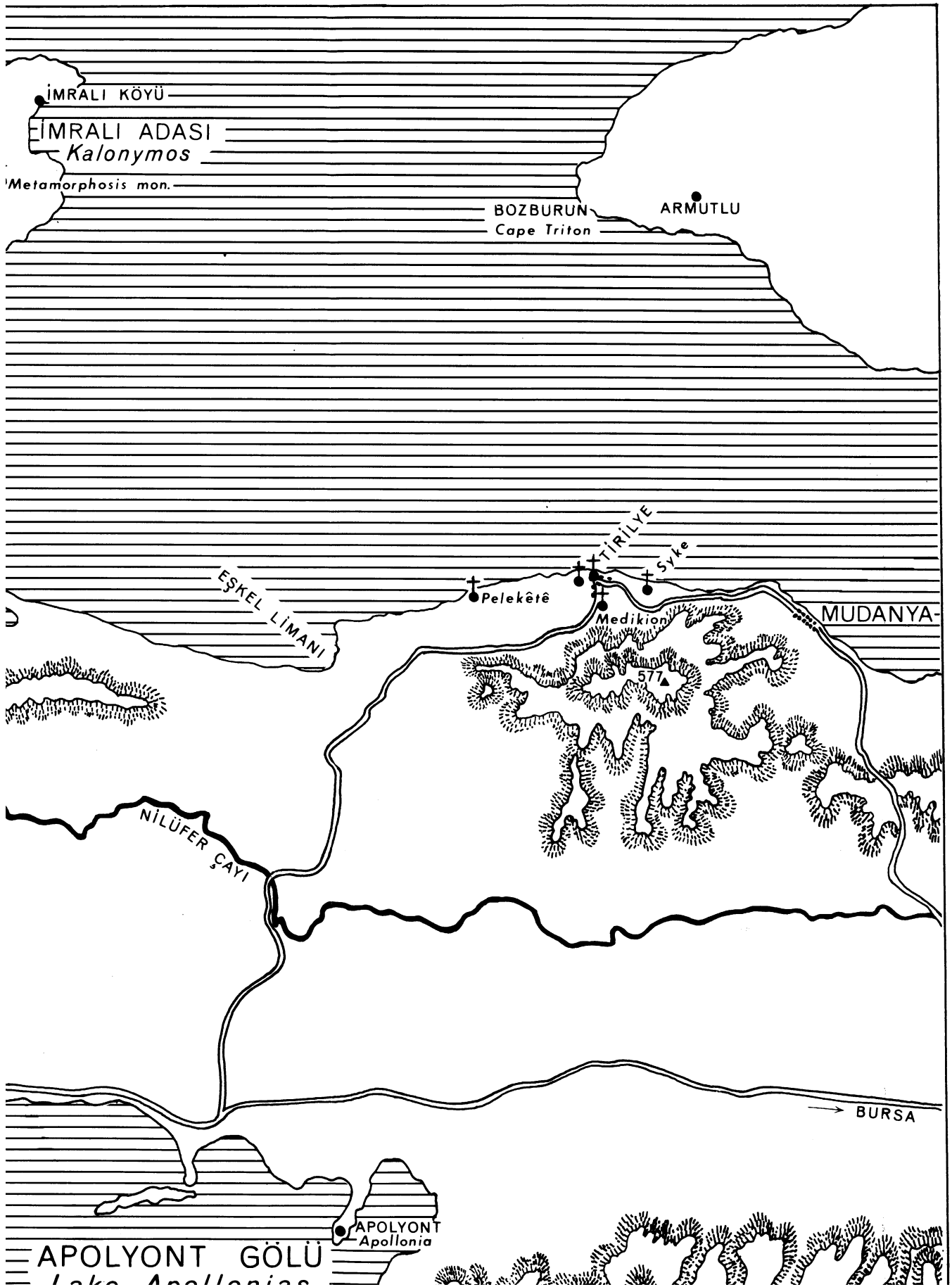
<sup>189</sup> "Inscriptions from the Cyzicus Neighbourhood," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 24 (1904), 36–38. *IRAIK*, (1911), 266–67.

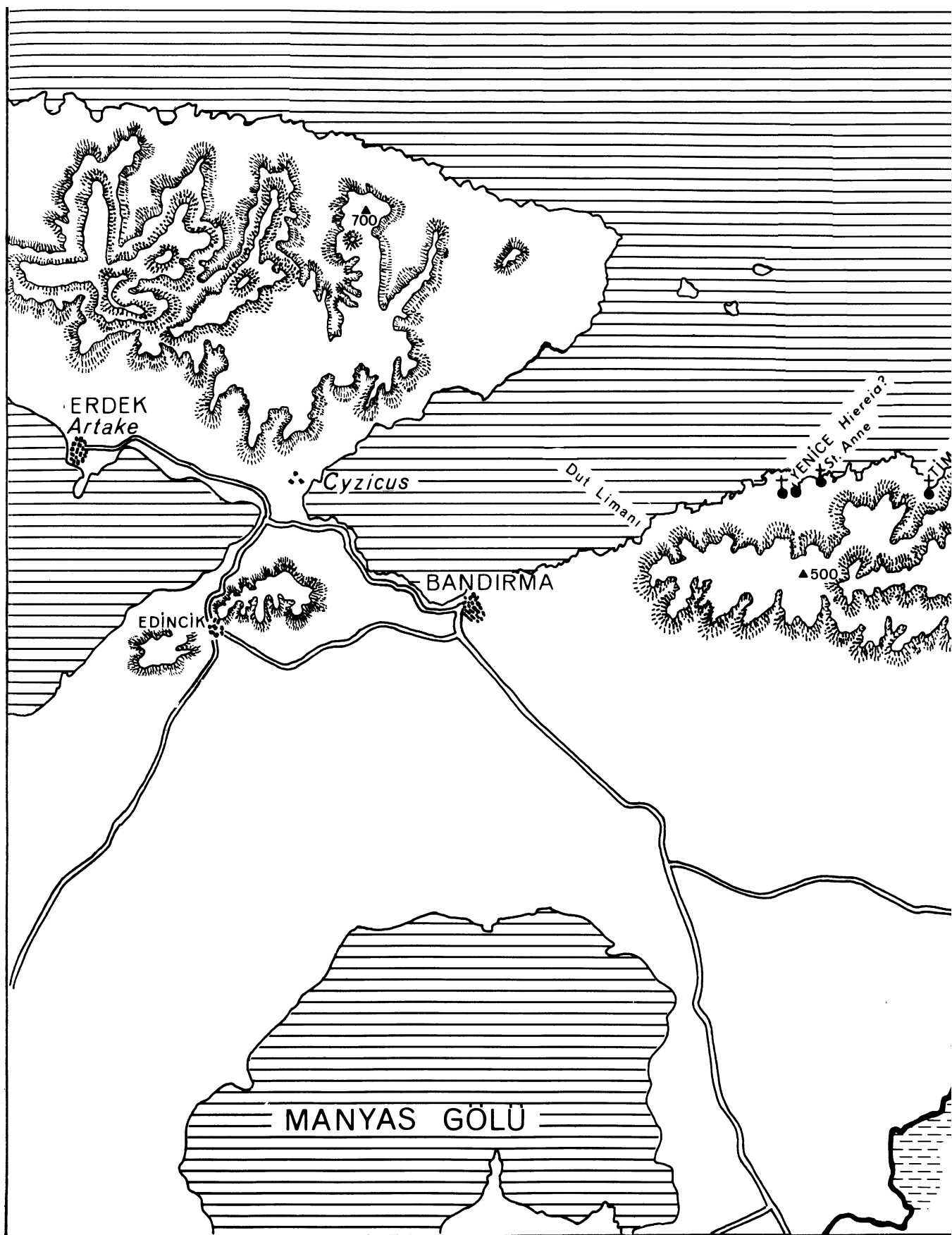
<sup>191</sup> For the sake of completeness, we mention here another funerary inscription found "in the rustic chapel of a monastery (Aia Anna)," and published by J. H. Mordtmann, "Zur Epigraphik von Kyzikos. III," *AM*, 10 (1885), 211. This, like other fragments at Manastir, must have been a spolium brought from Cyzicus and used in the construction of the monastery. The inscription is of the usual type, in which formulae such as κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, εἰ δέ τις τολμήσῃ ἔτερον καταθέσθαι, τῷ ταμειῷ can be easily reconstructed.



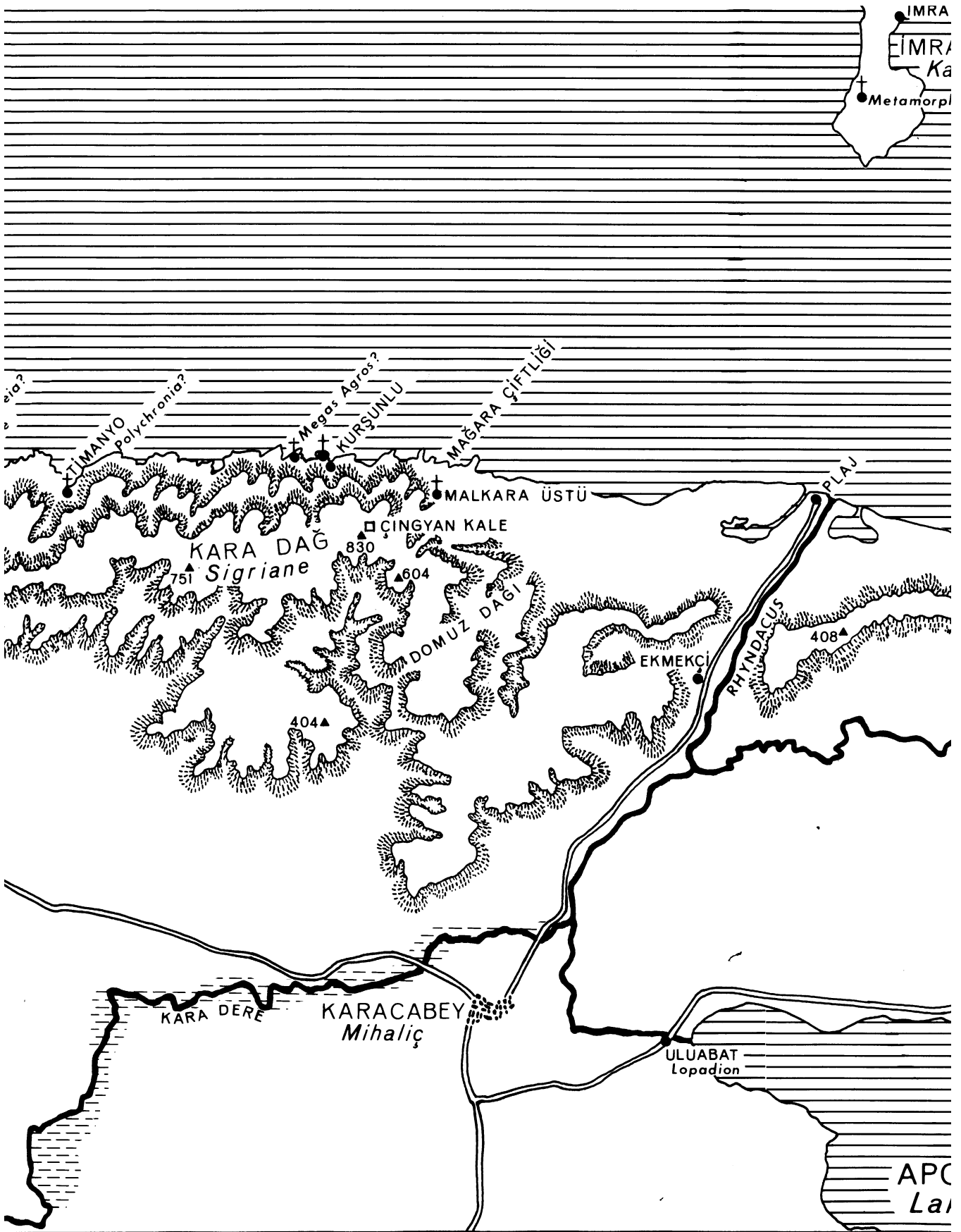


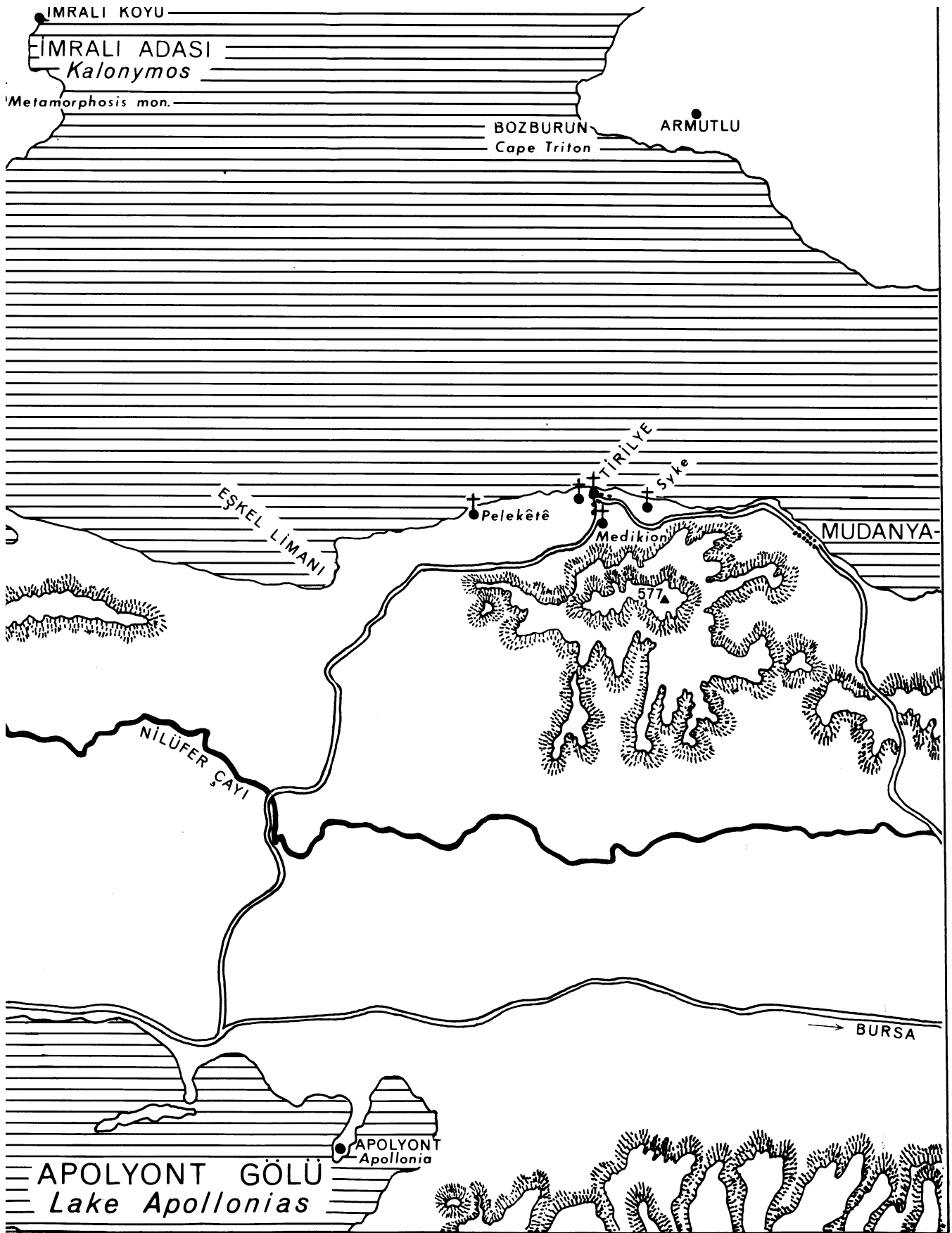
APC  
100











1. Map of Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara between Bandırma and Mudanya

an. I imagine from the fig trees which are about it.

From thence we climb over a hill or two and then came to Trithia. In our way just at the foot of the last hill to our left hand (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mile out of the town) stands a little monastery, they call it  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , in honour of the  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  in the council of Nice. There are belonging to it about 25  $\kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , and there are round about the monastery vineyards, and plowed grounds, and olive and fig trees all which these monks cultivate with their own hands; none are exempt from labour but the  $\eta\gamma\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , and some few priests. There were several young lads that came thither to learn to read. There is an old church there built long ways, thus.

The top is ruined, but repaired and tiled, but I

it may have been arched. At the bottom it hath been checker'd with black and white marble. Tesselatoe, as yet some part of the floor remains.

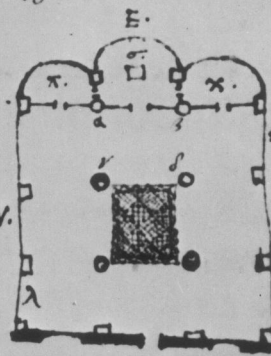
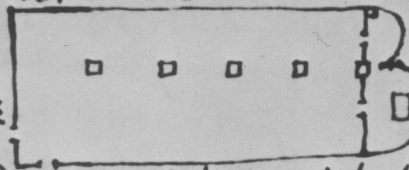
Trithia,  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\delta\iota\delta$  (for they do not write it, as I thought,  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\delta\iota\delta$ ) is placed just upon the sea over against Bo'sorno, in a little narrow valley and the greatest part of it is spread upon the sides of both the opposite hills. There are many churches, there and a pretty large Mosque. Though the Greeks exceed them in number, and have 5 or 6 churches, miserable places all except one which they call  $\kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\iota\delta\iota\alpha$ , it being dedicated to the V.M. it is but very small, but it is very pretty; it is ancient yet very intire, the model is something of St. Sophia,

that is if you leave out the cupola. It hath a cupola built upon the 4 pillars, & the rest is all arch'd. It is made of stone and (most) brick. The floor hath been all finely tessellated in the nave remaine many pieces, one pane is very intire where I have here placed it, of black and white marble.

I perceive building the cupola was ancient among the western nations, and very constantly used in those

Christian times. There were windows on the S. side only. and these only at the  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota$ . the  $\kappa\alpha\tau'\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ .  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\iota\delta\iota\alpha$ .  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\iota\delta\iota\alpha$ .  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\iota\delta\iota\alpha$  were all the menpols and had lights in the skirts of the cupola. It had six pillars placed as in the draught, gothic work, and round the side were pilasters. On the out side to the west, are on either side the door a shallow niche and over these are arches in the wall from pillar to pillar, as the same is quite round. wall at the east end is built upon broken pillars laid flatwise, their ends jutting out into sheets, like it in the whole and it seem'd to me a very pretty model.

About  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile beyond the town stands another monastery just upon the sea over against  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\iota\delta\iota\alpha$  upon the bottom of the cliff. it is dedicated to  $\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\iota$ .



A hand-drawn diagram of a simple house. The house has a rectangular body with a chimney on the left side. A door is located at the bottom center. There are two windows, one on the left and one on the right, each represented by a small circle. The drawing is done in a simple, sketchy style.

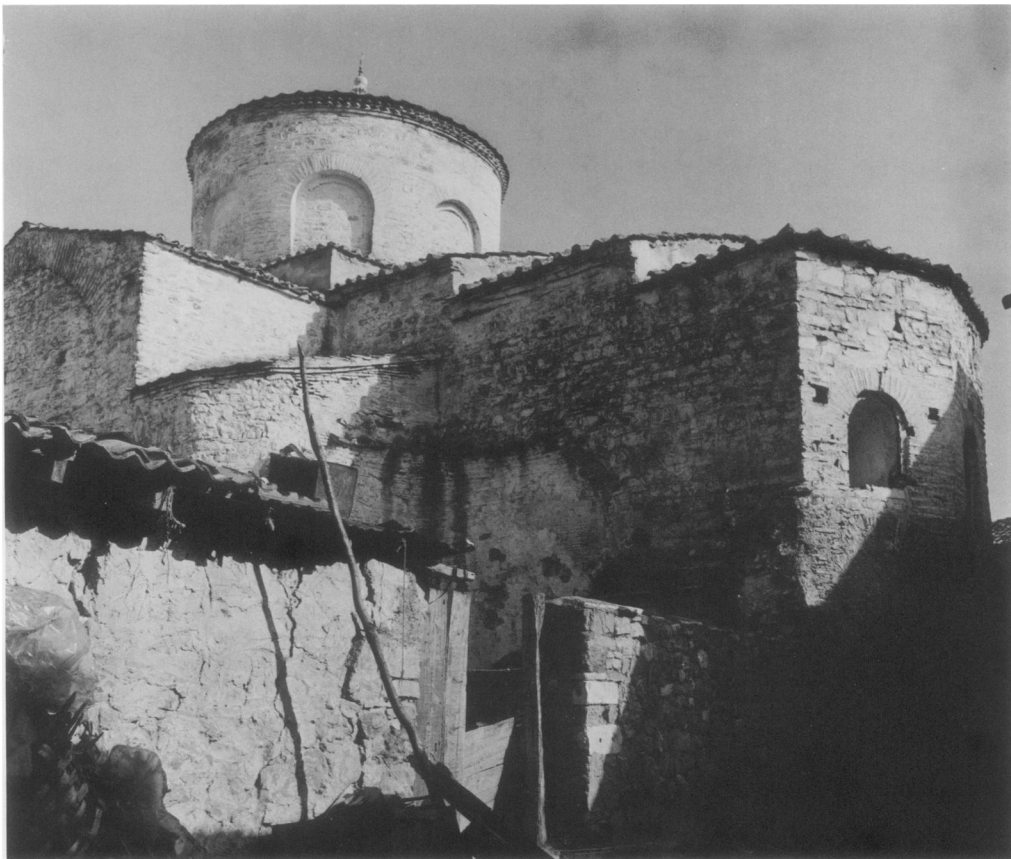
We had been informed that there were here many ancient shoues  
and old MSS. but the dence of one we met with all; they have many old  
church bookes, but not one of any account in ye world. in this monastery of St  
John. in ye corner of ye Court next ye sea, we goe down about 20 or 30 steps  
into a kind of a grotto, where is an idoped. ye water was very good, but in a maner  
lukewarme, yet they say in ye heat of summer it is very cold; it lyes  
deep, ~~and~~ runs with a full pipe of 4 in ches. To come and see this place in  
may or June must needs be exceeding pleasant.

[illegible]

73. we had many pretty Turkish dishes upon the way. I was in Ramazan, and the  
Turks were extraordinary kind and plentiful to us, first they eat but the thickest  
mulling of yewine but I got a Gyrope Beckmeh which for I was ye stable  
commodity laded from Smyrna to England, but of late none is carryed.



4. Exterior from Southwest



5. Exterior from Southeast

Tirilye, Fatih Camii





6. Exterior from Northwest

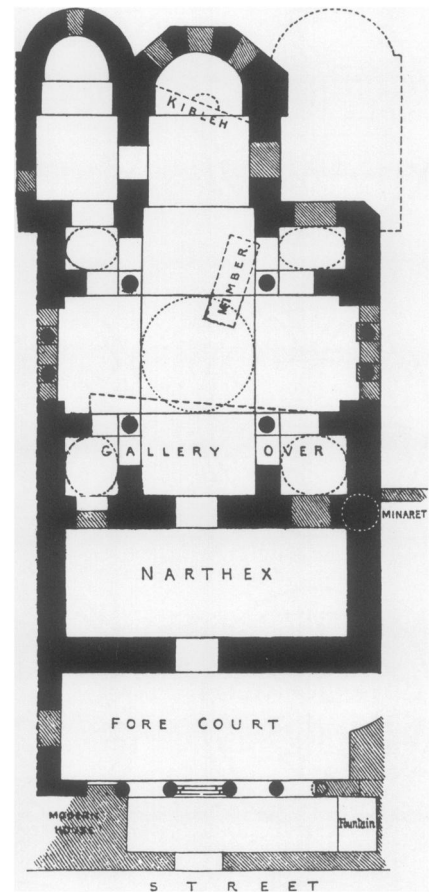


7. Atrium Colonnade

Tirilye, Fatih Camii



8. Capital in Atrium

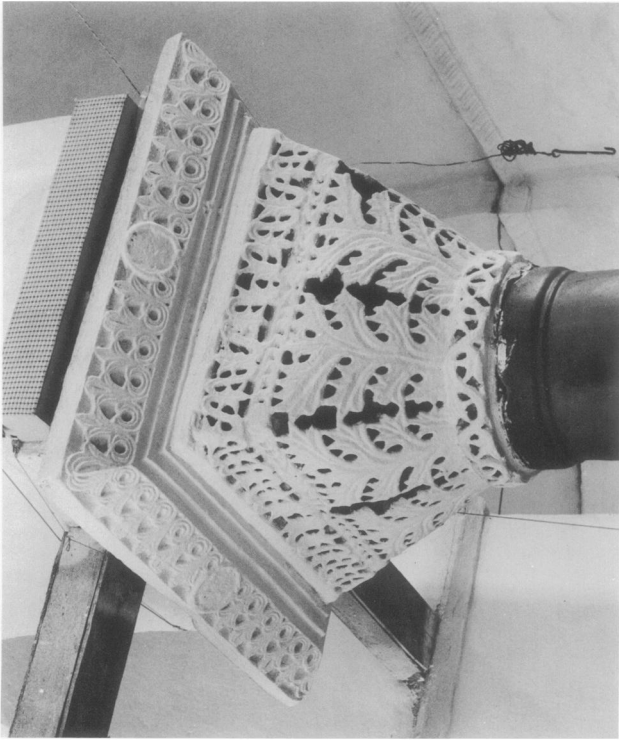


9. Ground Plan after Hasluck.  
Scale 1:300

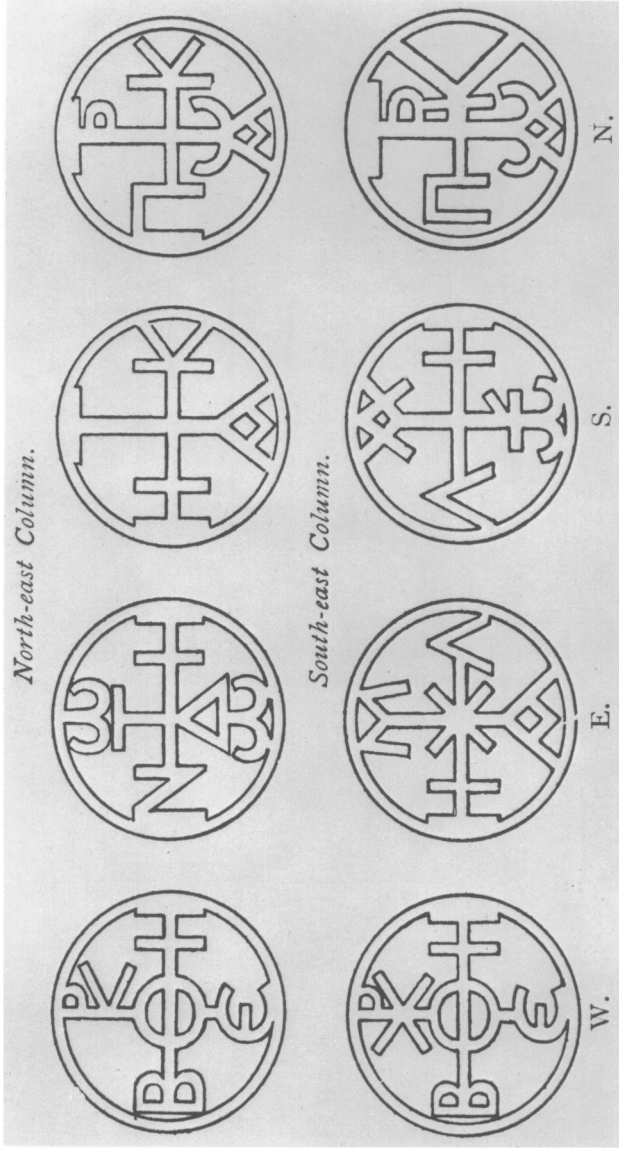


10. Interior, looking Northeast

Tirilye, Fatih Camii



11. Interior, Northeast Capital



12. Monograms on Abaci of Capitals. After Hasluck

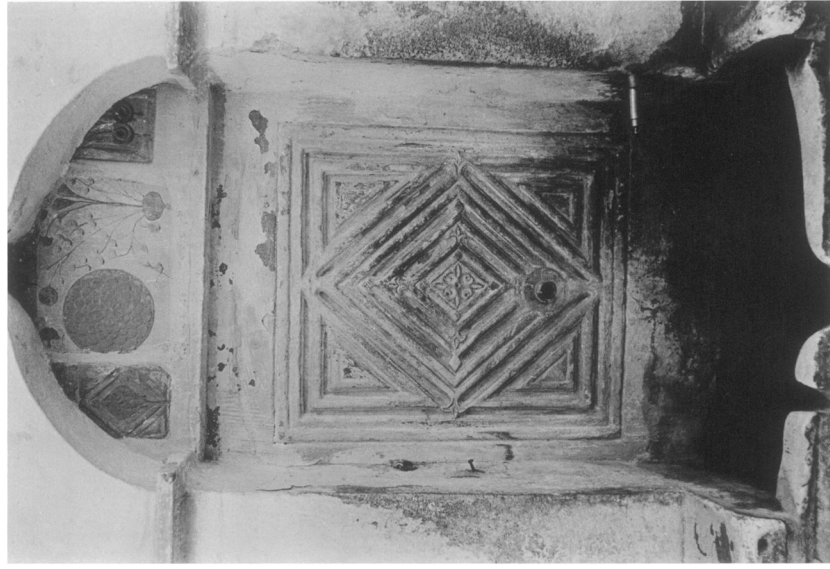


13. North Crossing. Detail of Cornice

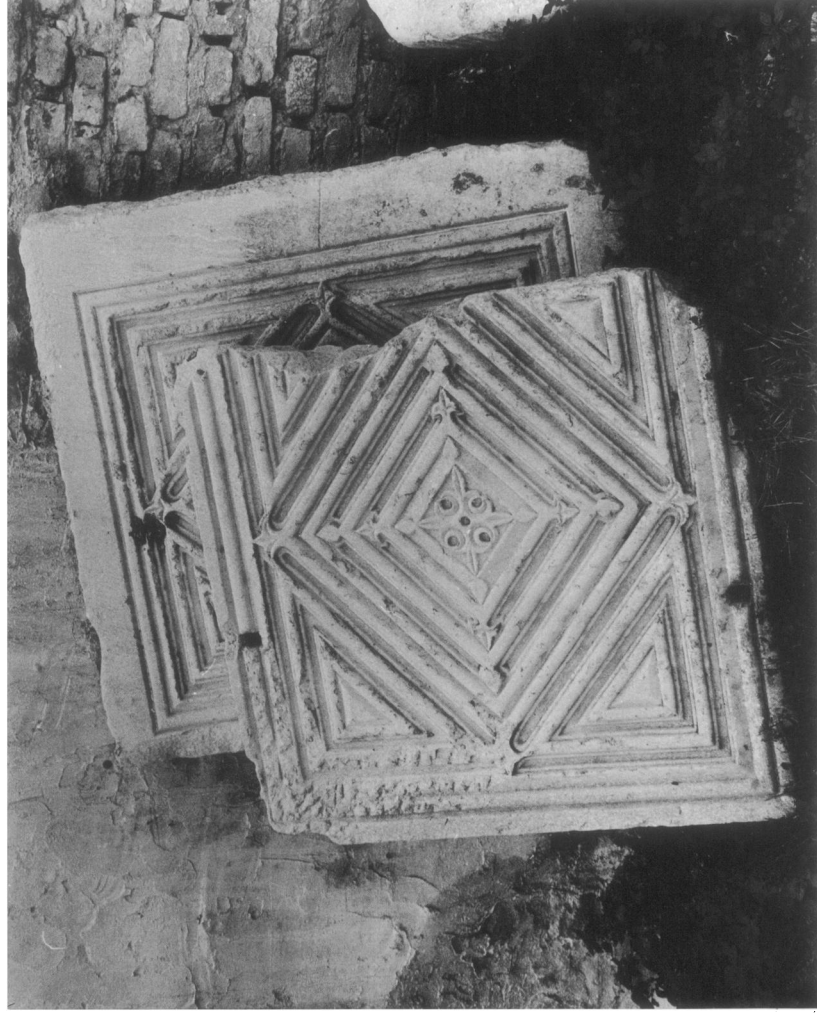


14. South Tribelon, Capital

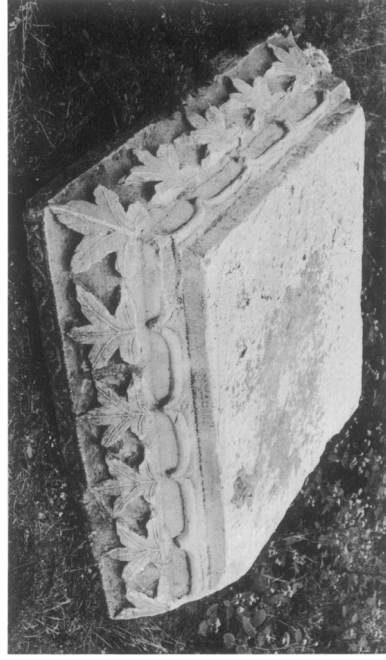




15. Fountain in Street to West of Mosque



16. Parapet Slabs to North of Mosque



17. Abacus to North of Mosque

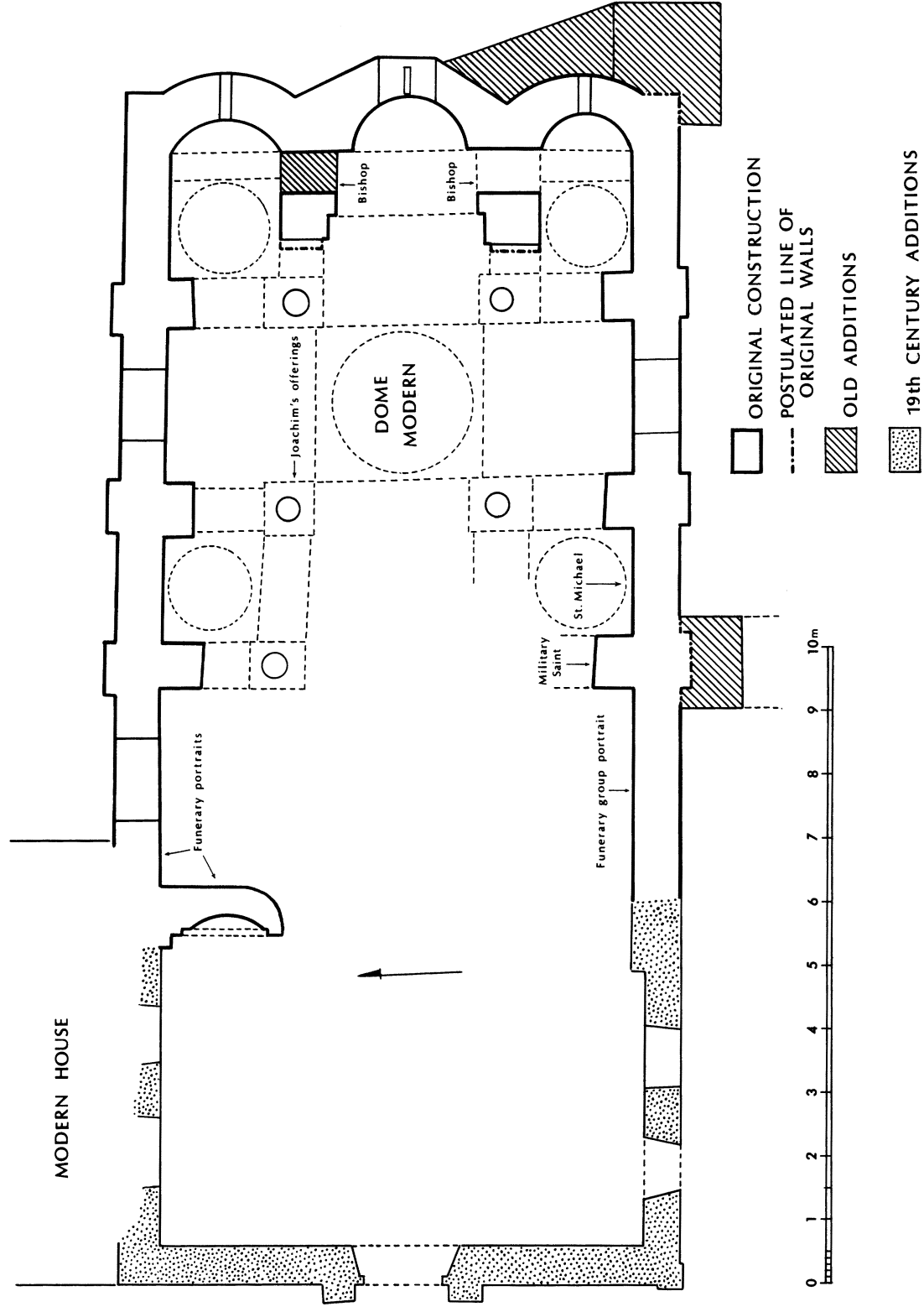


18.

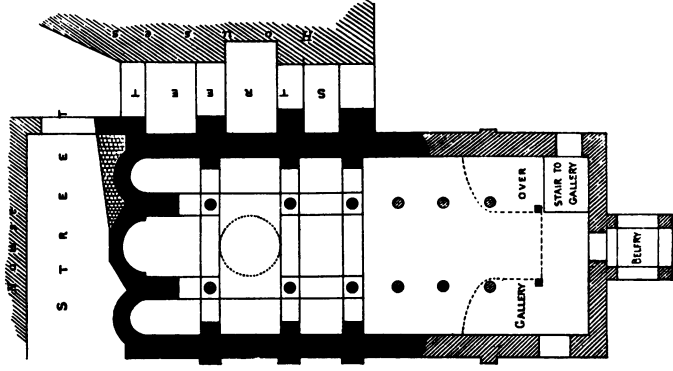
Capitals to North of Mosque



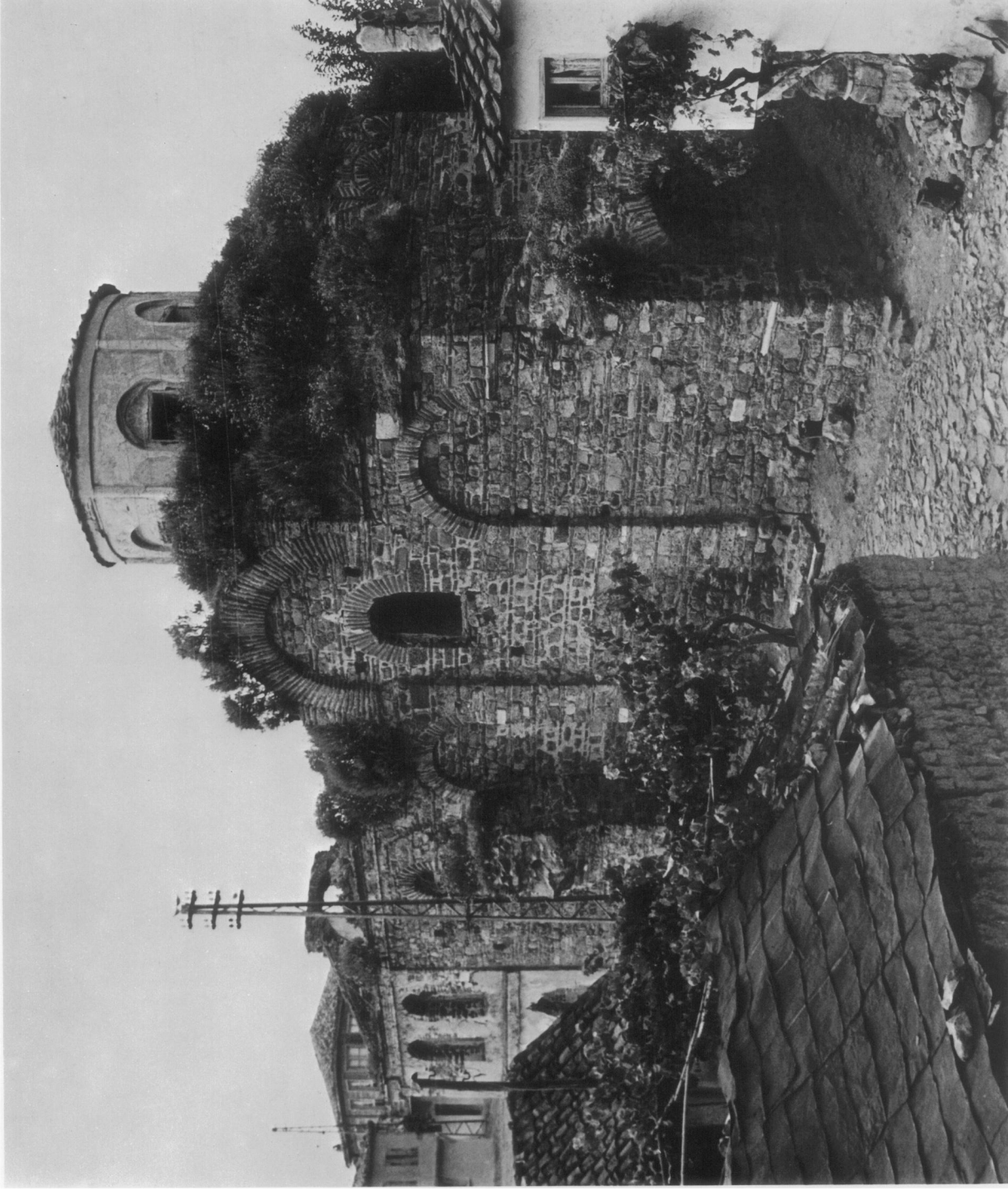
19.



20. Tirilye, Kemerli Kilise, Ground Plan



21. Ground Plan after Hasluck.  
Scale 1:300



22. Exterior from Southeast

Tirilye, Kemerli Kilise

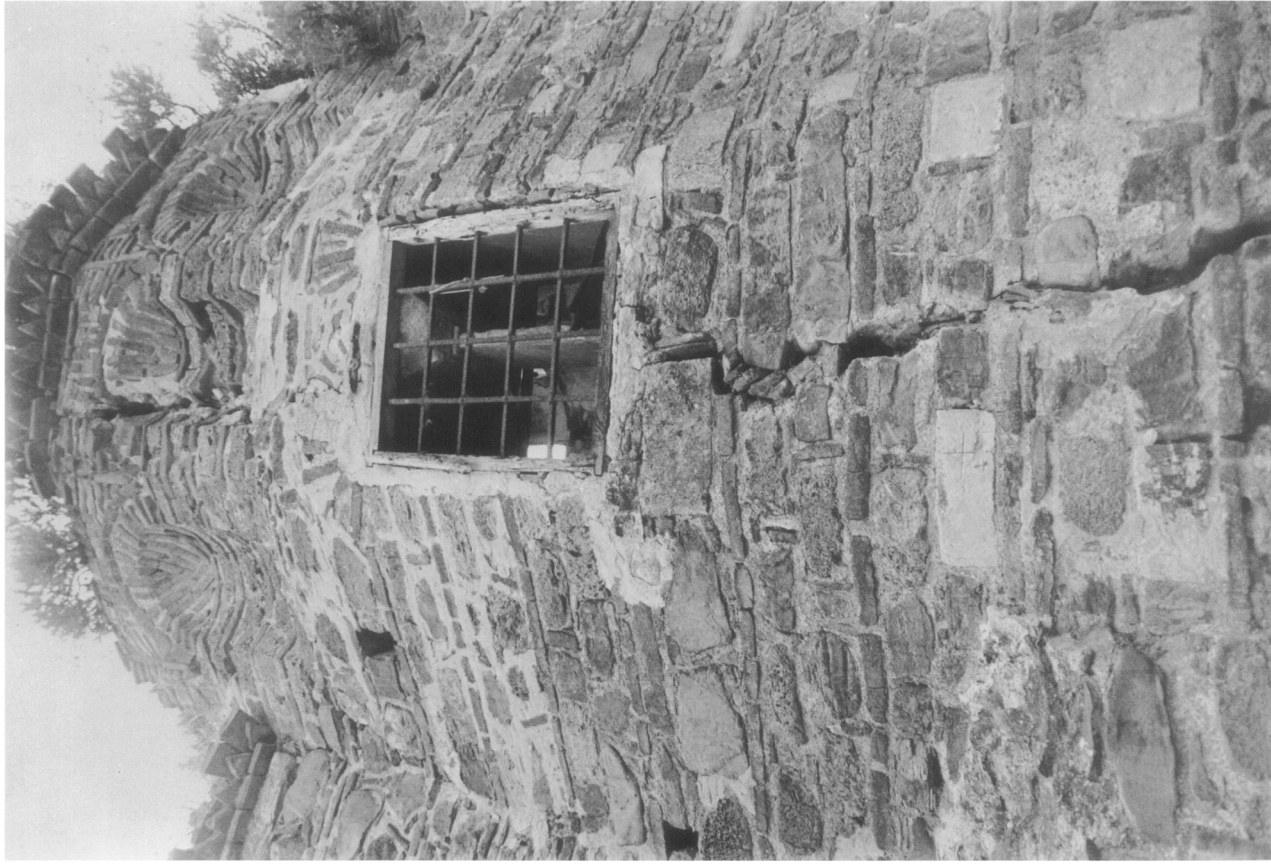


23. Exterior, North Wall



24. West Façade, North Niche  
Tirilve, Kemerli Kilise





25. Central Apse



26. Apses, looking South

Tirilye, Kemerli Kilise



27. Tirilye, Kemerli Kilise. Interior, looking Northeast



28. Capital under Northwest Corner of Dome



29. Northwest Column



30. Capital under Southeast Corner of Dome

Tirilye, Kemerli Kilise



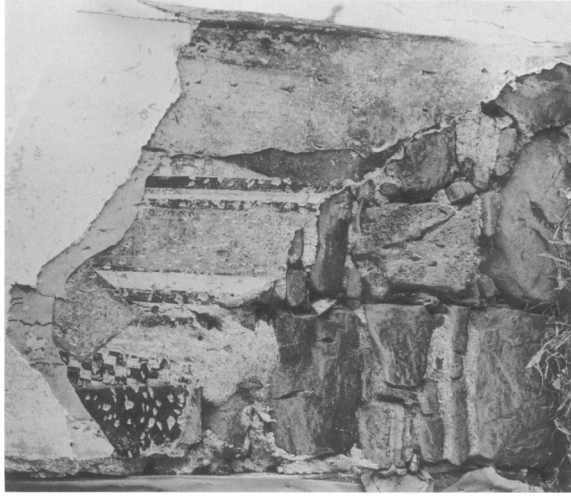


31. Joachim's Offerings Rejected

Tirilye, Kemerli Kilise



32. Heads of Joachim and Anna



33. Bema, North Side. Lower Part of  
Figure of Bishop





34. St. Michael and Military Saint



35. St. Michael

Tirilye, Kemerli Kilise, Naos, North Wall, West Bay



36. Naos, North Wall, West Bay.  
Military Saint



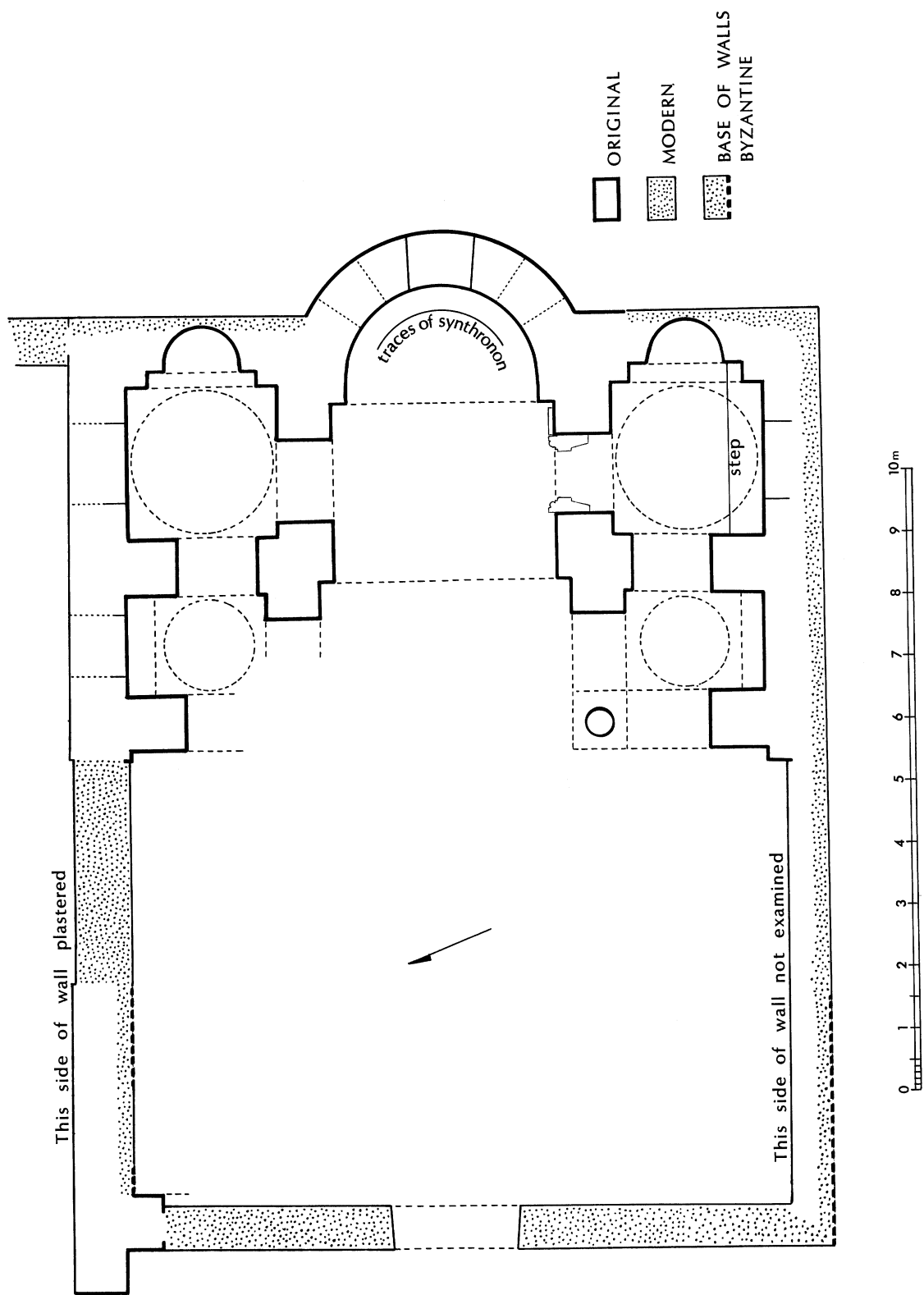
37. Narthex, West Wall. Funerary Portrait



38. Narthex, South Wall. Funerary Group Portrait



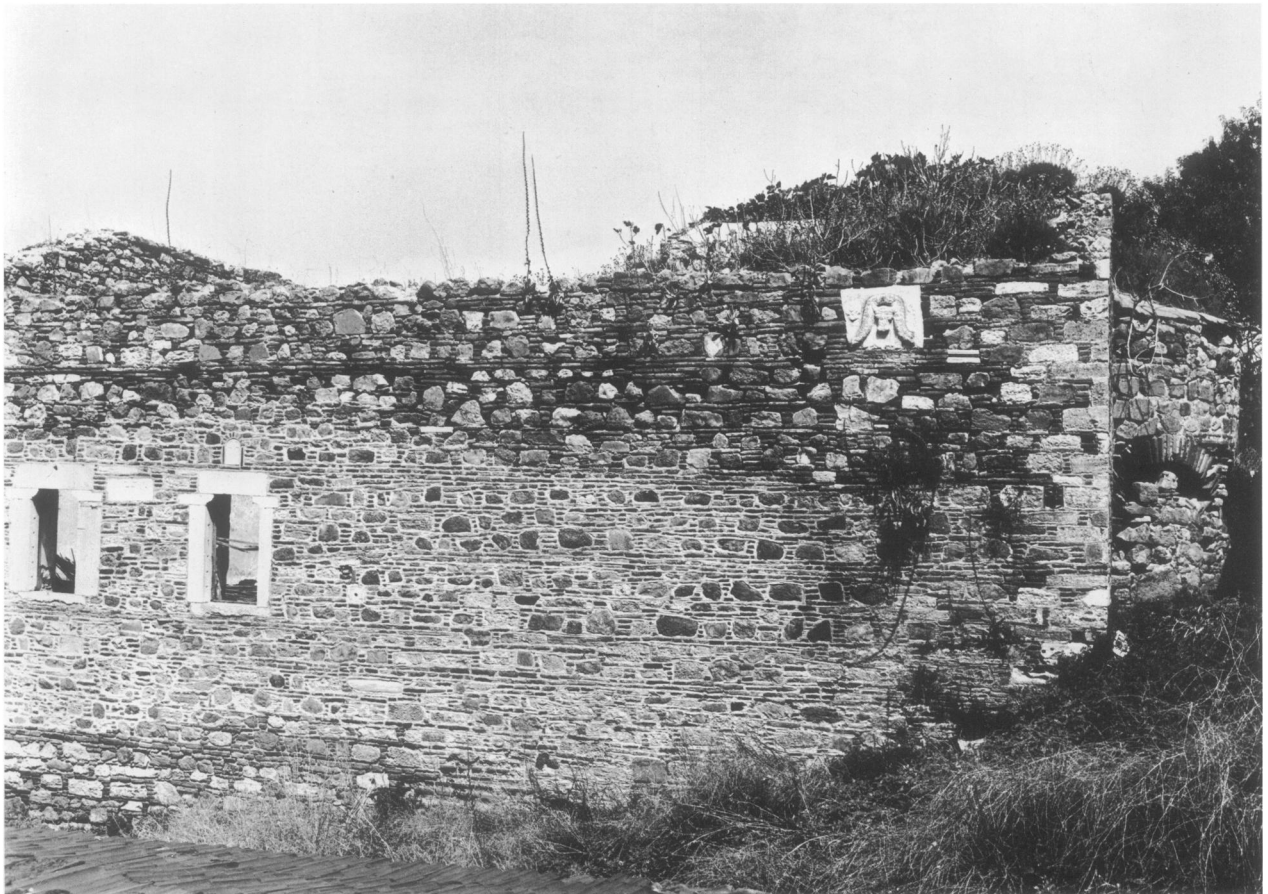
39. Narthex, North Wall. Funerary Portrait



40. St. John of Pelekete, Ground Plan



41. Exterior, West Wall



42. Exterior, South Wall

St. John of Pelekete





43. Central Apse from South, Exterior



44. Interior, looking East

St. John of Pelekete



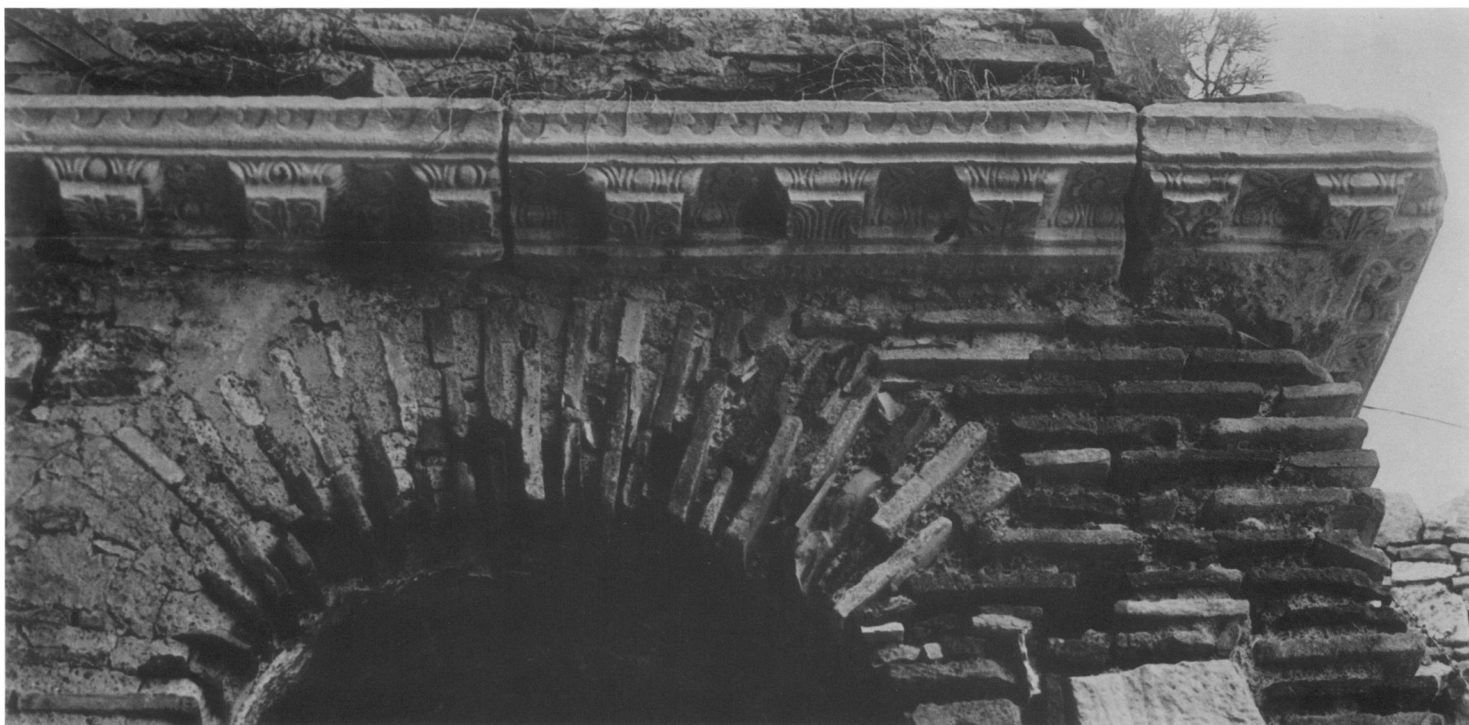
45. Interior, looking Northeast



46. Interior, Naos, Northeast Bay  
St. John of Pelekete



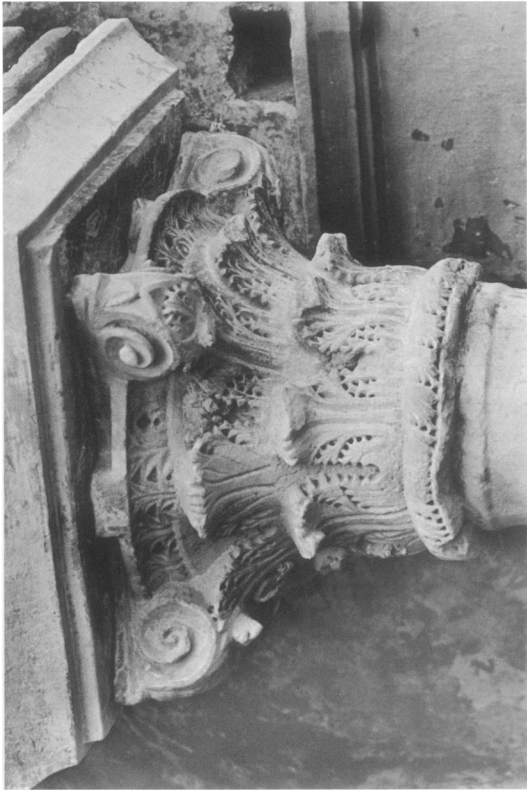
47. Interior, Southeast Column, looking South



48. Cornice above Southeast Column

St. John of Pelekete

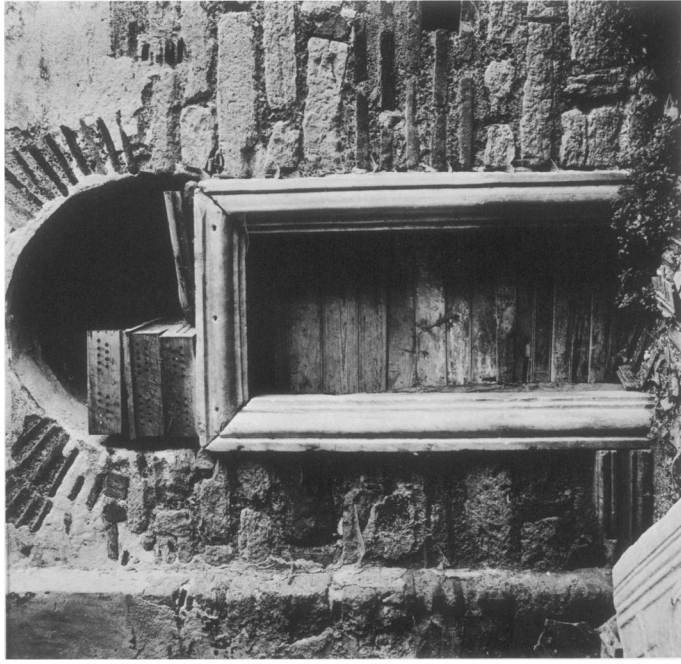




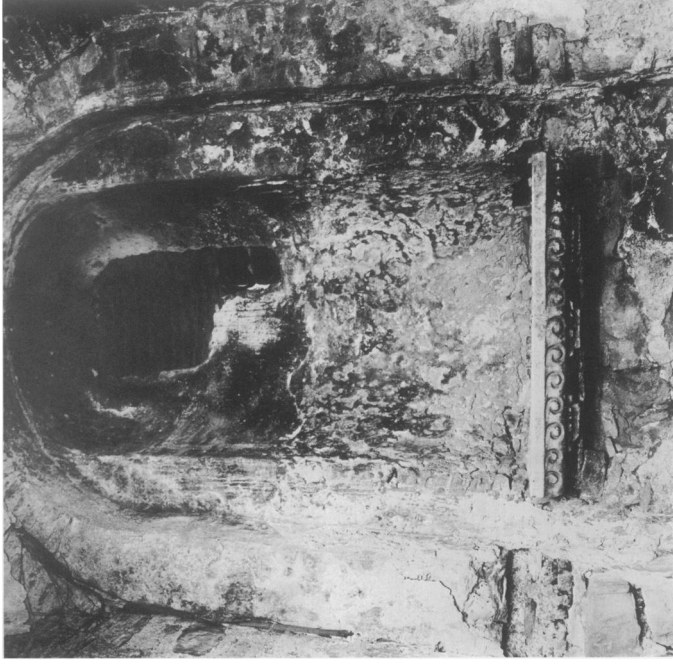
49. Southeast Column, Capital



50. Parapet Slab



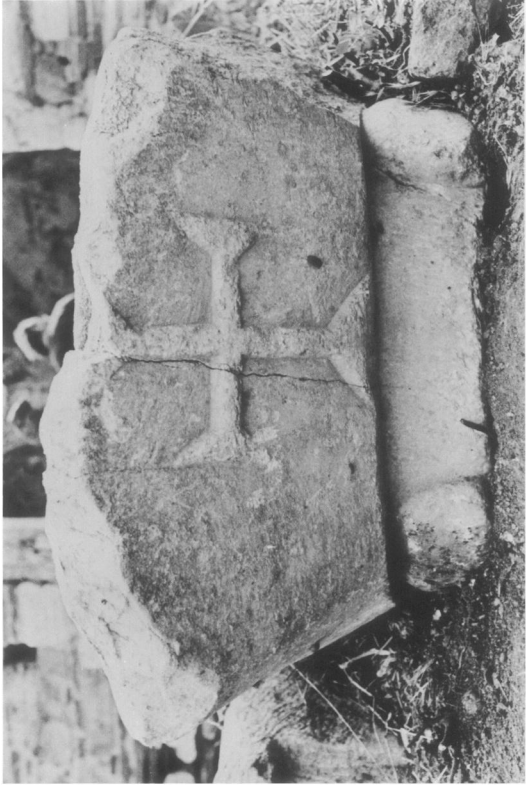
51. Bema, South Side



52. Prothesis, Apse

St. John of Pelekete





53.



54.

Ionic Impost Capitals



55.



56.

Roman Fragments built into South Wall



57. Carving, Fragments



58. Capital, Fragment

# Malkara Üstü



59. Çingyan Kale. Tower seen from North



60. Karadağ Region. View of Seacoast. Kurşunlu Village in Distance



61.



62.

Kurşunlu Village, Lokman's House. Funerary Reliefs





63.



64.



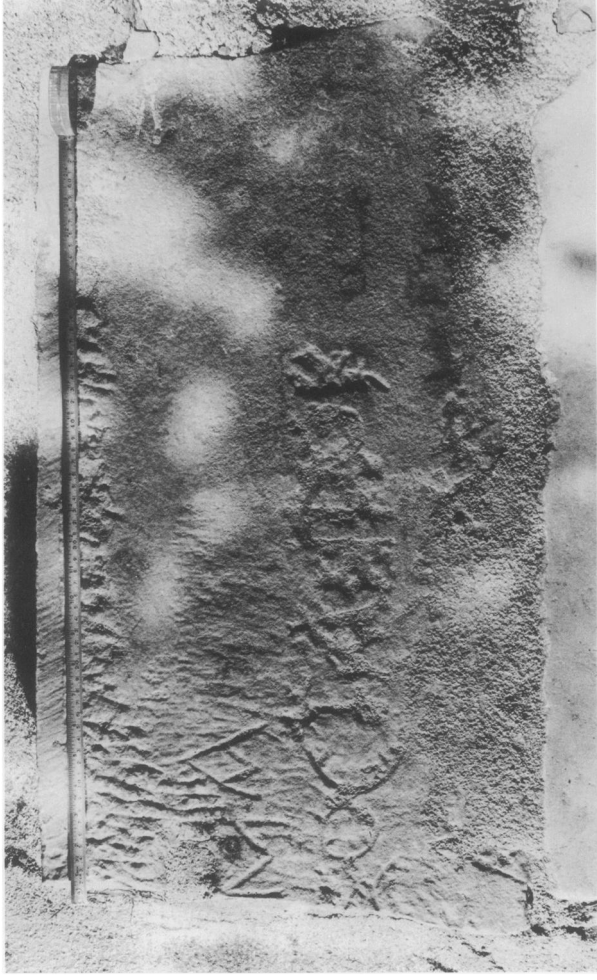
65.



66.



67.



68.

Inscriptions



69. Doric Capital



70. Lead Weight



71. Capital

Kurşunlu Village, Lokman's House



72.



73.



74.



75.

Kurşunlu Village, Lokman's House. Capitals





76. Parapet Slab, Fragment



77. Entablature, Fragment

Kurşunlu Village, Lokman's House



78. Kurşunlu Monastery. General View from North



79. Circuit Wall along Seashore



80. Circuit Wall turning Inland from Seashore  
Kurşunlu Monastery





81. Monastery Gate Transformed into Dwelling House



82. Gatehouse, West Side



83. Mullion reused in Dwelling House



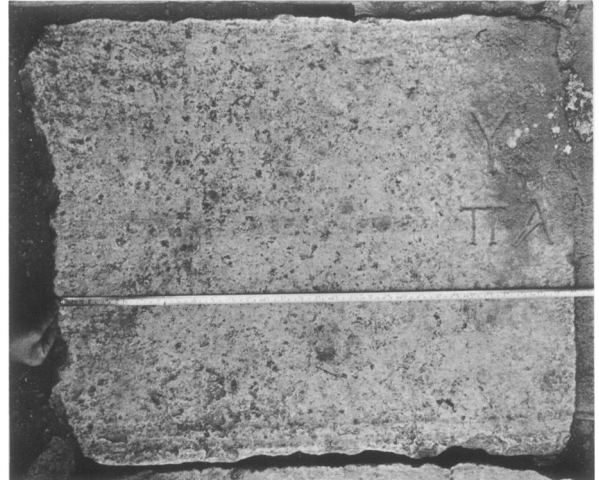
84. Carved Fragment reused in Gatehouse



85. Gatehouse, Interior, North Side



86.



87.



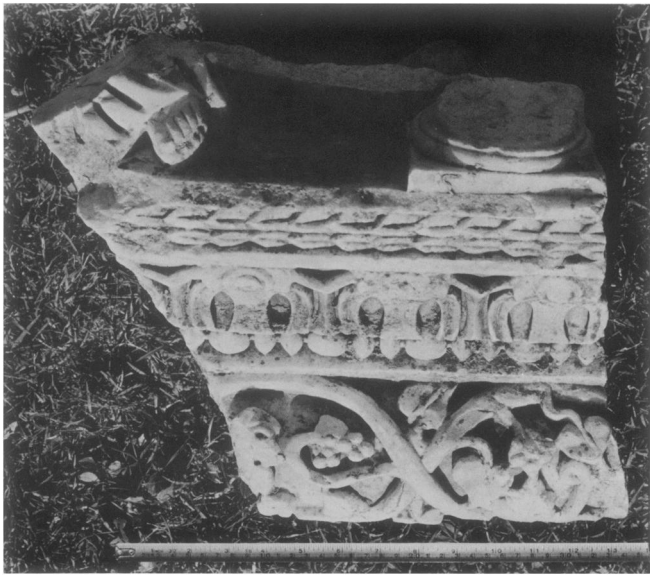
88.



89.

Inscriptions, Fragments

Kurşunlu Monastery



90.



91.

Kurşunlu Monastery. Columnar Sarcophagus, Fragments



92.



93.



94.

Columnar Sarcophagus, Fragments transported to Karacabey City Hall (Kaymakamlık)



95.



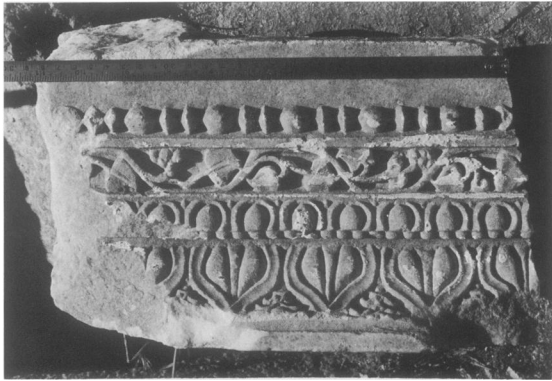
96.



97.

Kurşunlu Monastery. Columnar Sarcophagus, Fragments





98.

Antique Coping, Fragments



99.

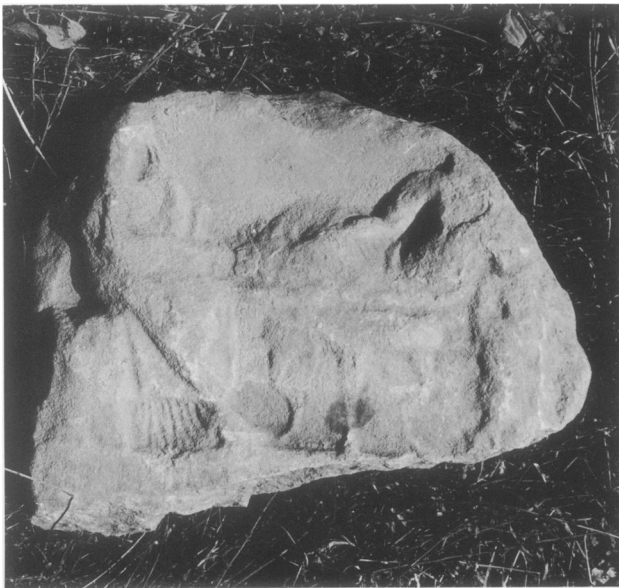


100.

Bench Support, Fragments



101.



102.

Funerary Reliefs, Fragments



103.

Kurşunlu Monastery



104. Fluted Column, Fragment



105. Lion's Head

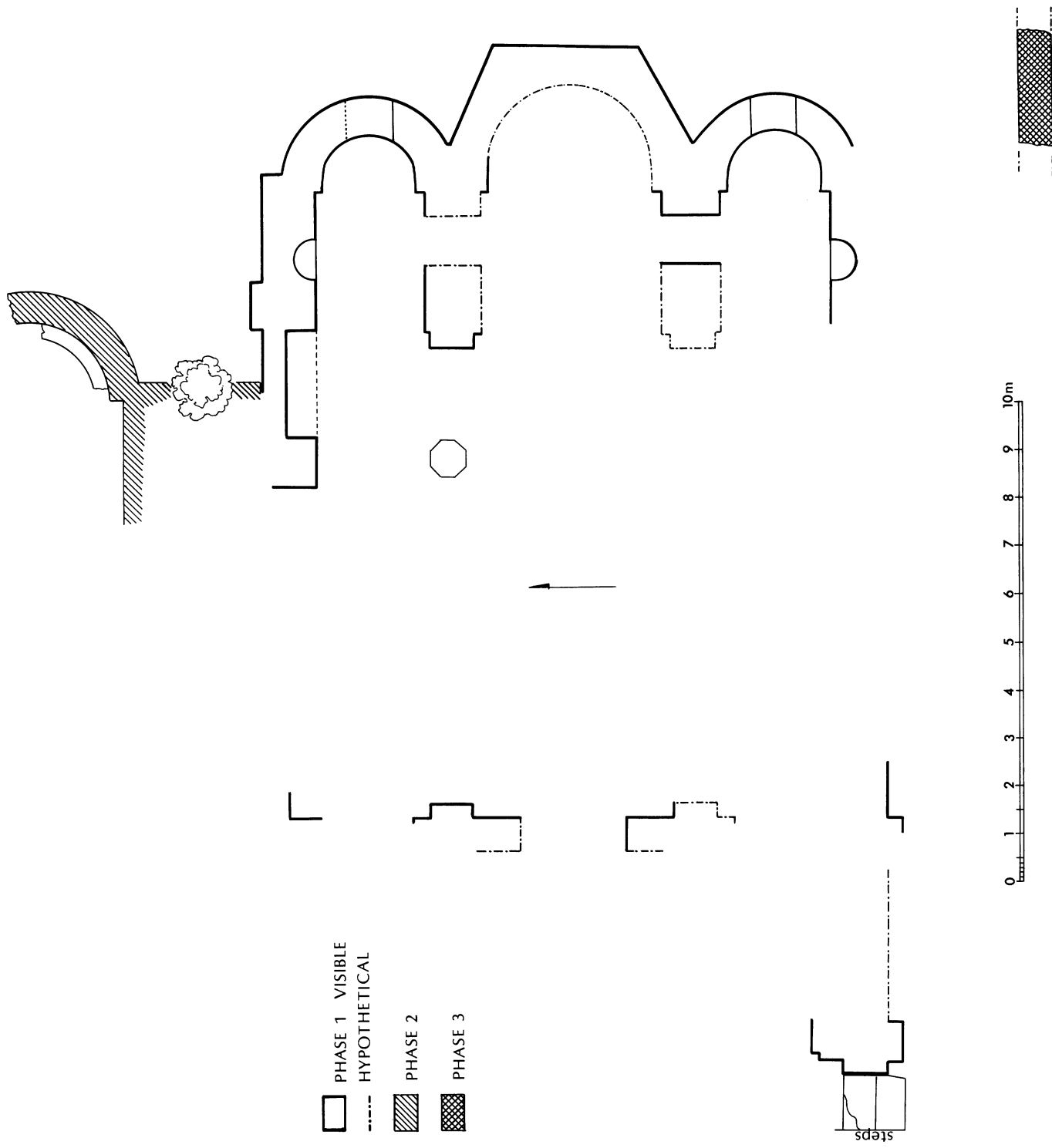


106. Sarcophagus Lid next to Fountain



107. Sarcophagus outside Dwelling House

Kurşunlu Monastery



108. Kurşunlu Monastery, Church, Ground Plan



109. Interior, looking North. Column Shaft not *in situ*



110. Interior, looking West

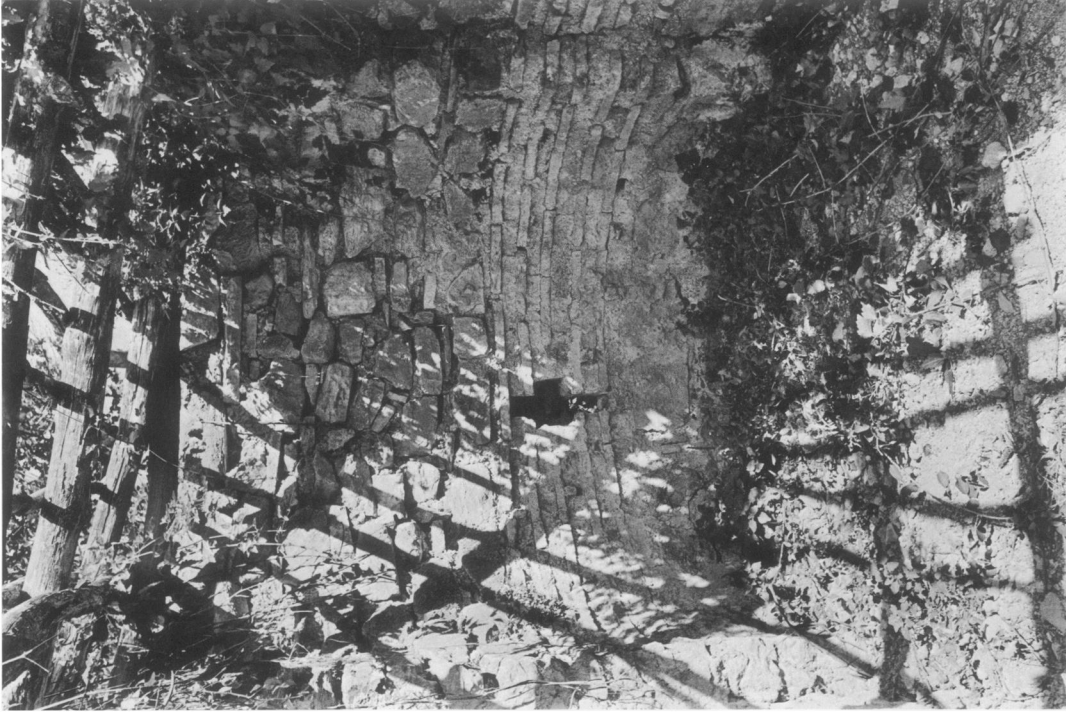


111. Central and North Apses, Exterior

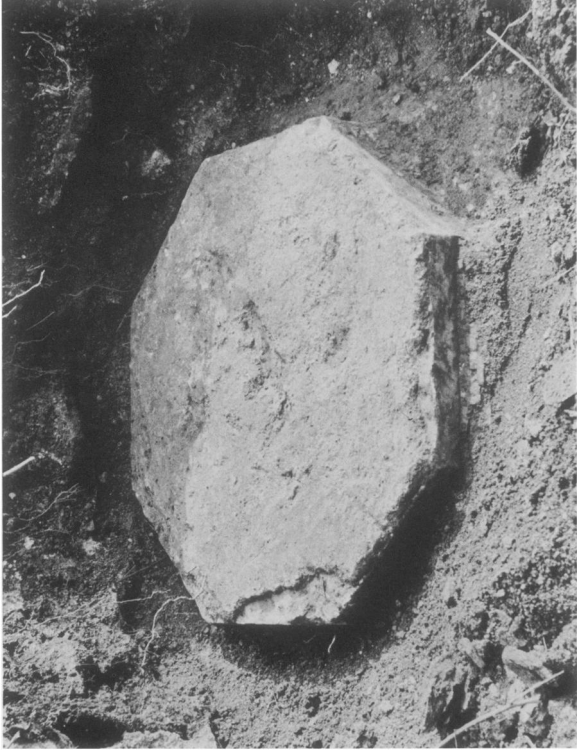


112. Narthex, Southwest Corner





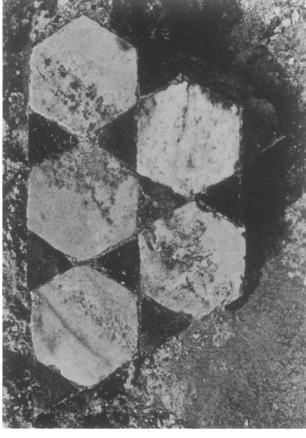
113. Prothesis Apse, Interior



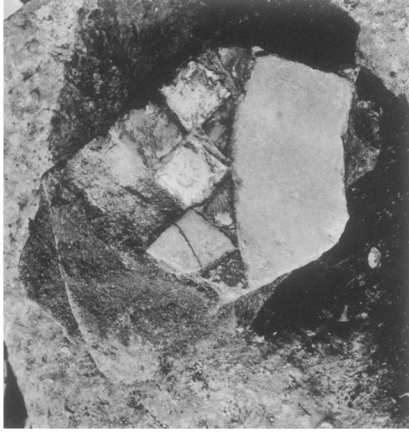
114. Northeast Column Footing



115. Column Base not *in situ*

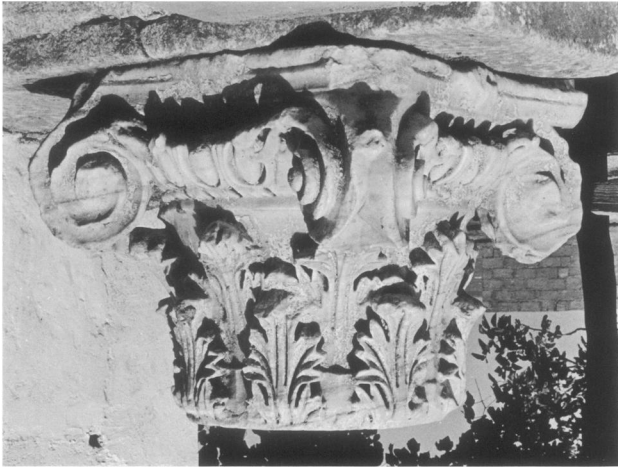


116.



117.

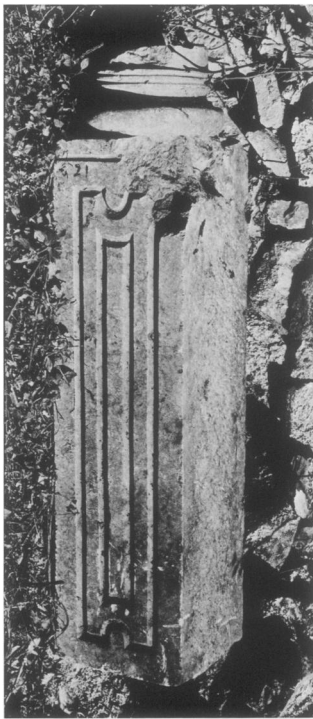
Pavement Fragments



118. Kurşunlu Village. Capital from Monastery



119. Kurşunlu Monastery. Church, Capital



120. Post from Chancel Screen



121.



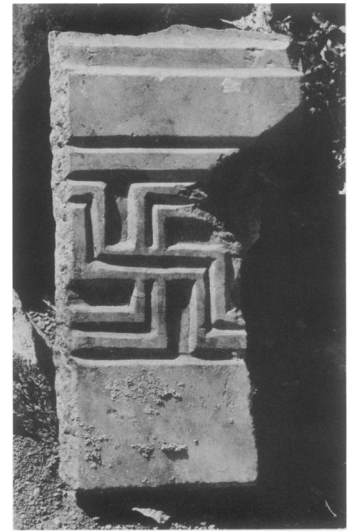
122.  
Cornice Fragments



123. Door Lintel



124. Kurşunlu, House of Süleyman Köse. Entablature, Fragment



125. Kurşunlu Monastery, Church. Wall Skirting (?), Fragment



126.



127.



128.



129.

Kurşunlu Monastery. Byzantine Carving, Fragments





130.



132.

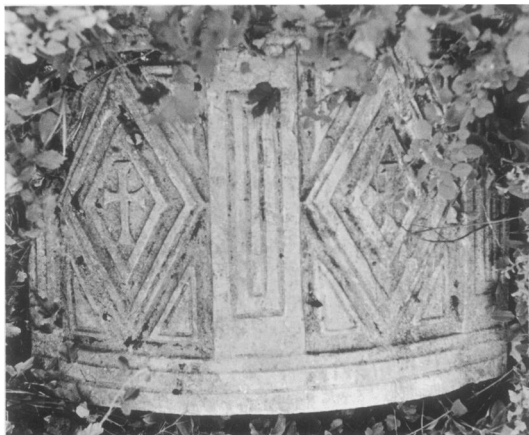
Kurşunlu Monastery. Carving, Fragments



131. Kurşunlu Monastery. Fresco Inscription, Fragment



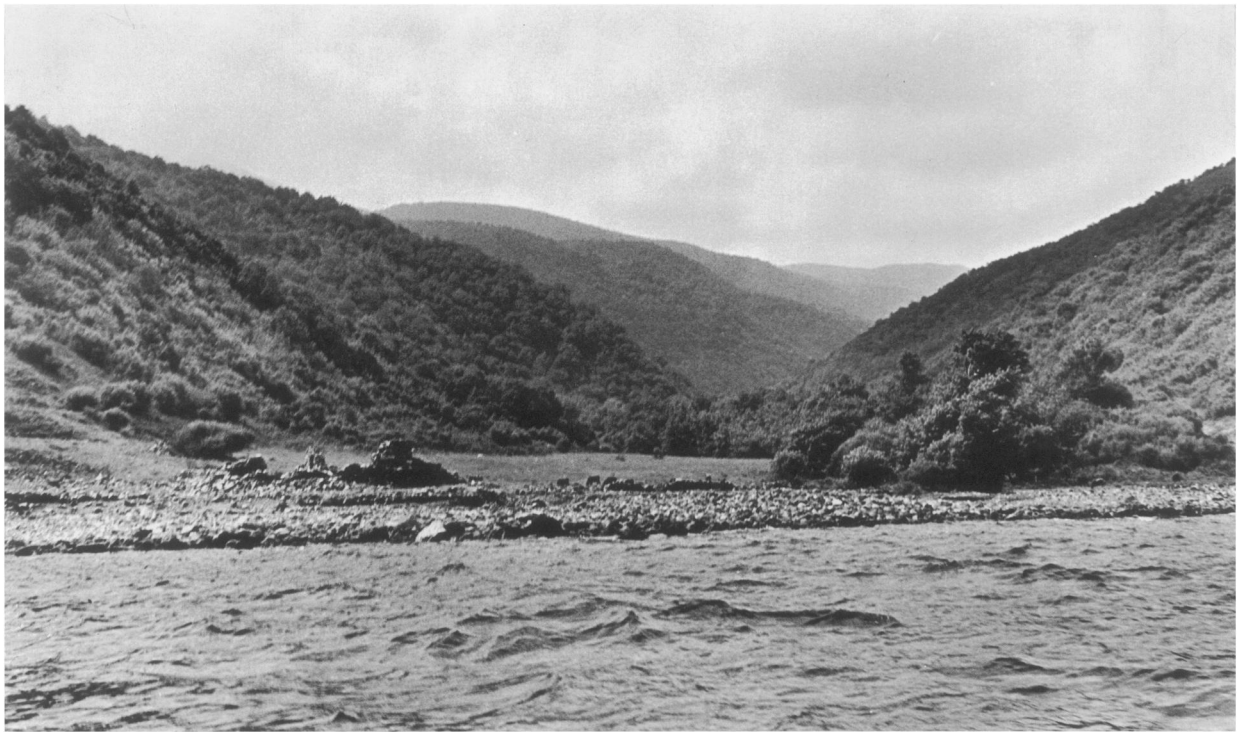
133. Mullion Capital



134. Ambo Balustrade



135. Interior, looking East



136. View of Valley, looking South



137. Ionic Capital, Fragment

Timanyo



138. Parapet Slab, Fragment



139. Sarcophagus and Architectural  
Fragments at Village Fountain



140. St. Anne. Funerary Relief

Yenice



141.



142.



143.

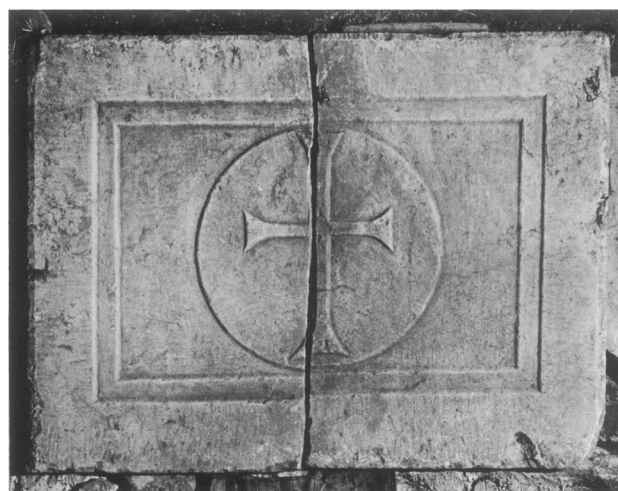


144.

Yenice, St. Anne. Capitals



145. Parapet Slab



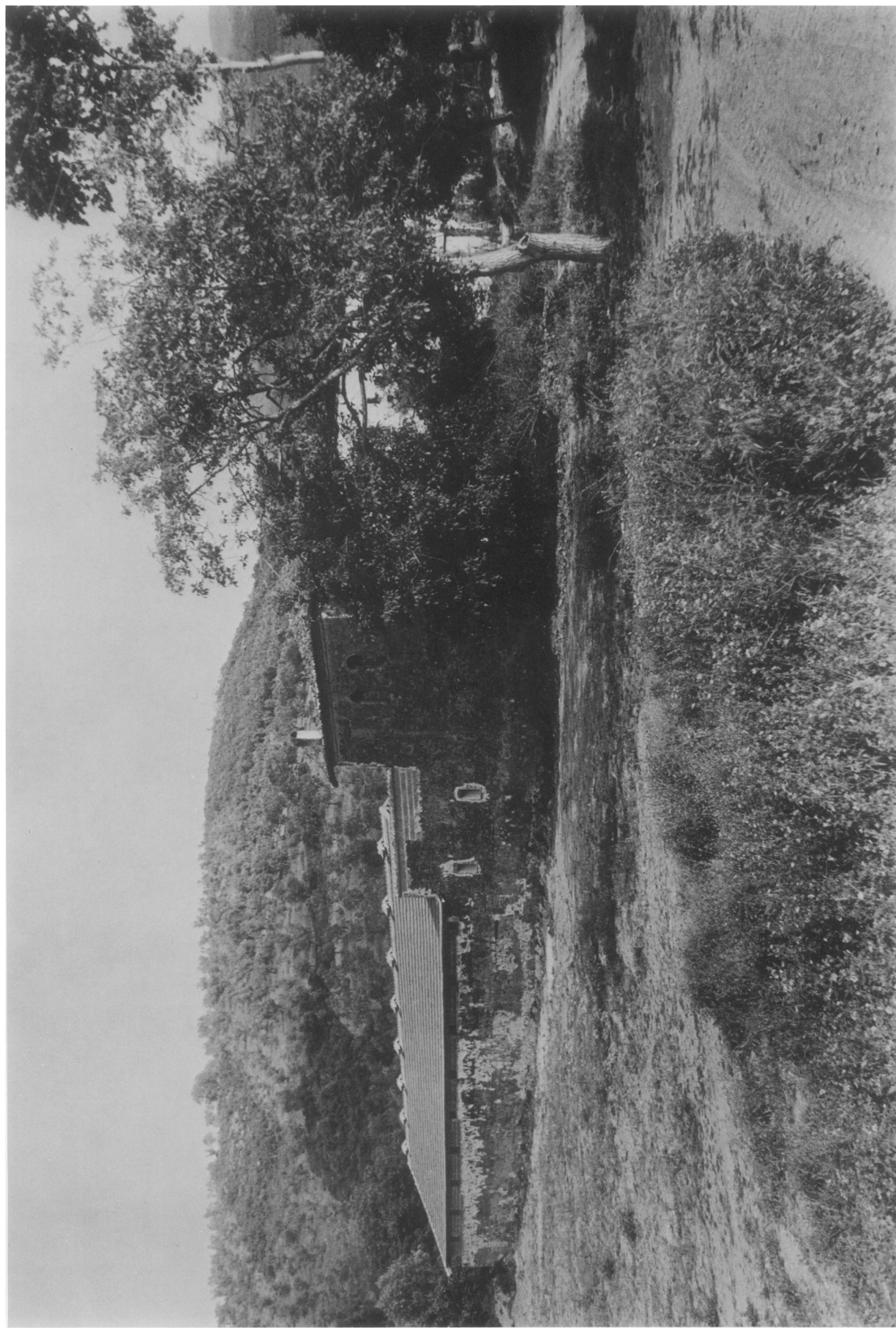
146. Parapet Slab, Rear View

Yenice Village

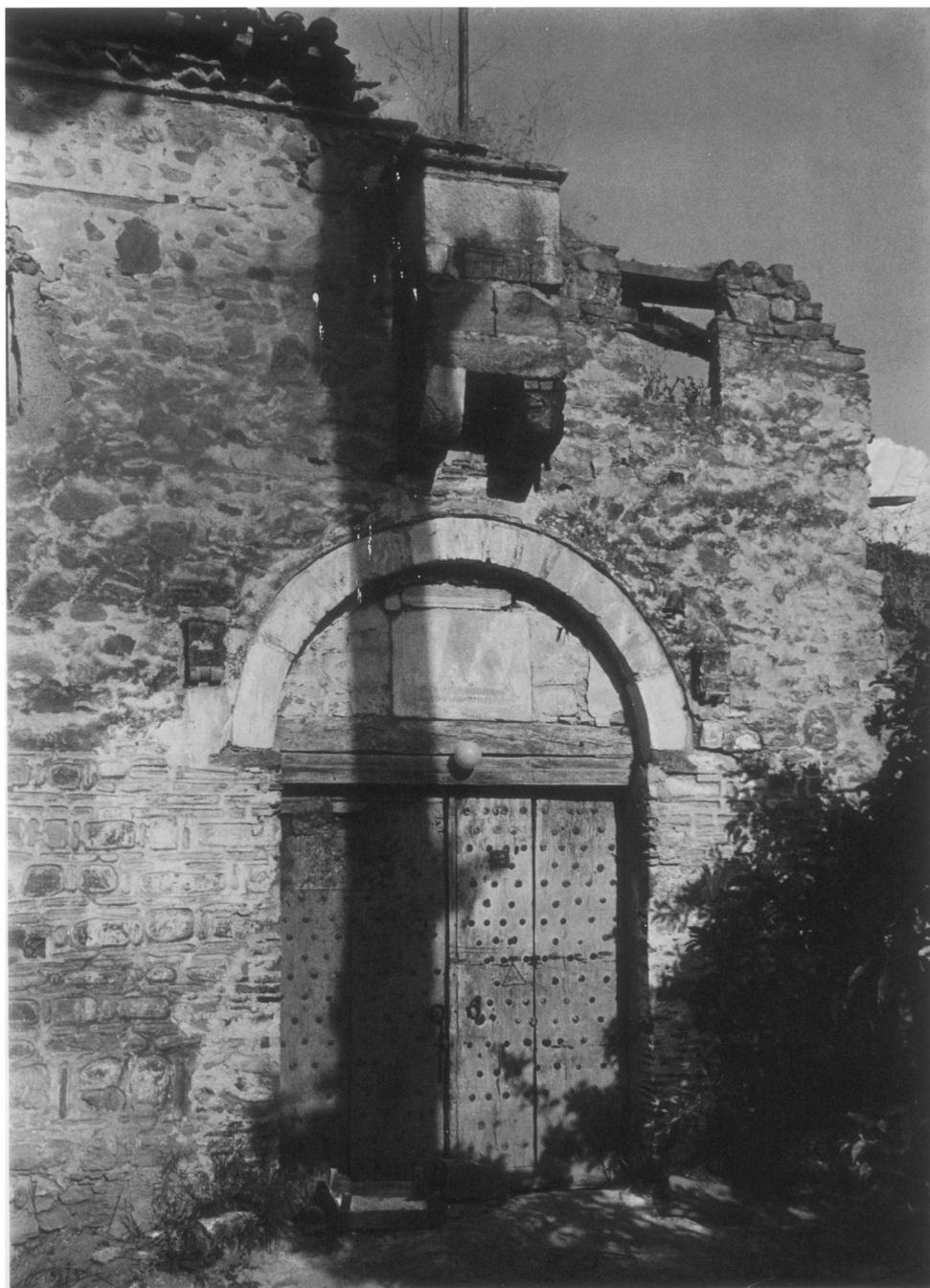




147. Iznik (Nicaea), St. Sophia. Diaconicon from South



148. Tiriye, Medkion Monastery, View from Northwest



149. Gate



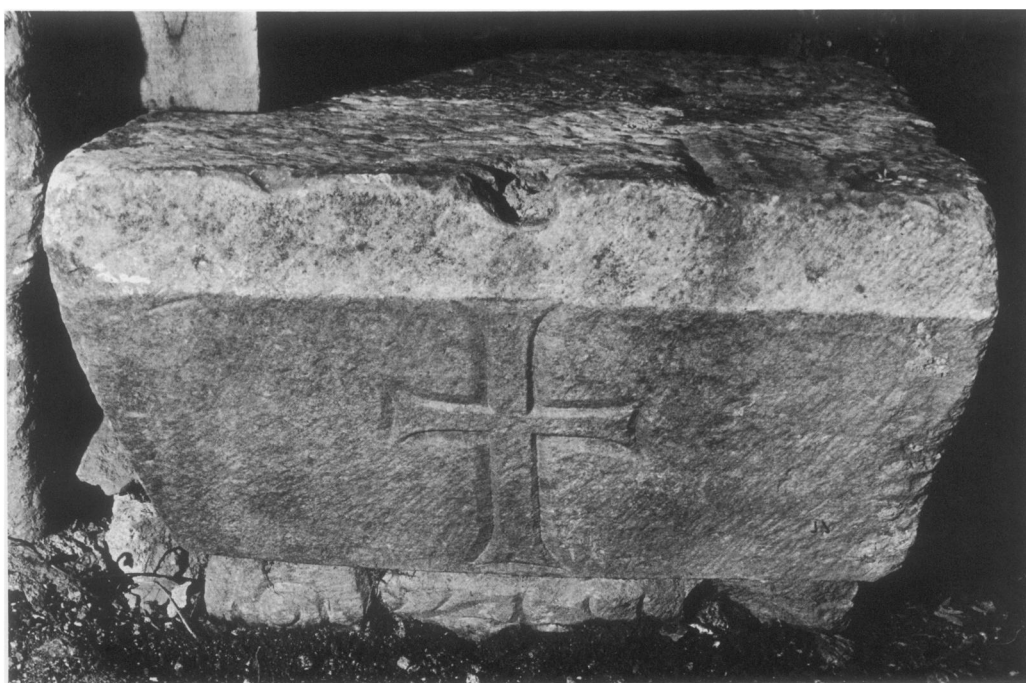
150. Gate, Lunette. Maximos Inscription

Tirilye, Medikion Monastery





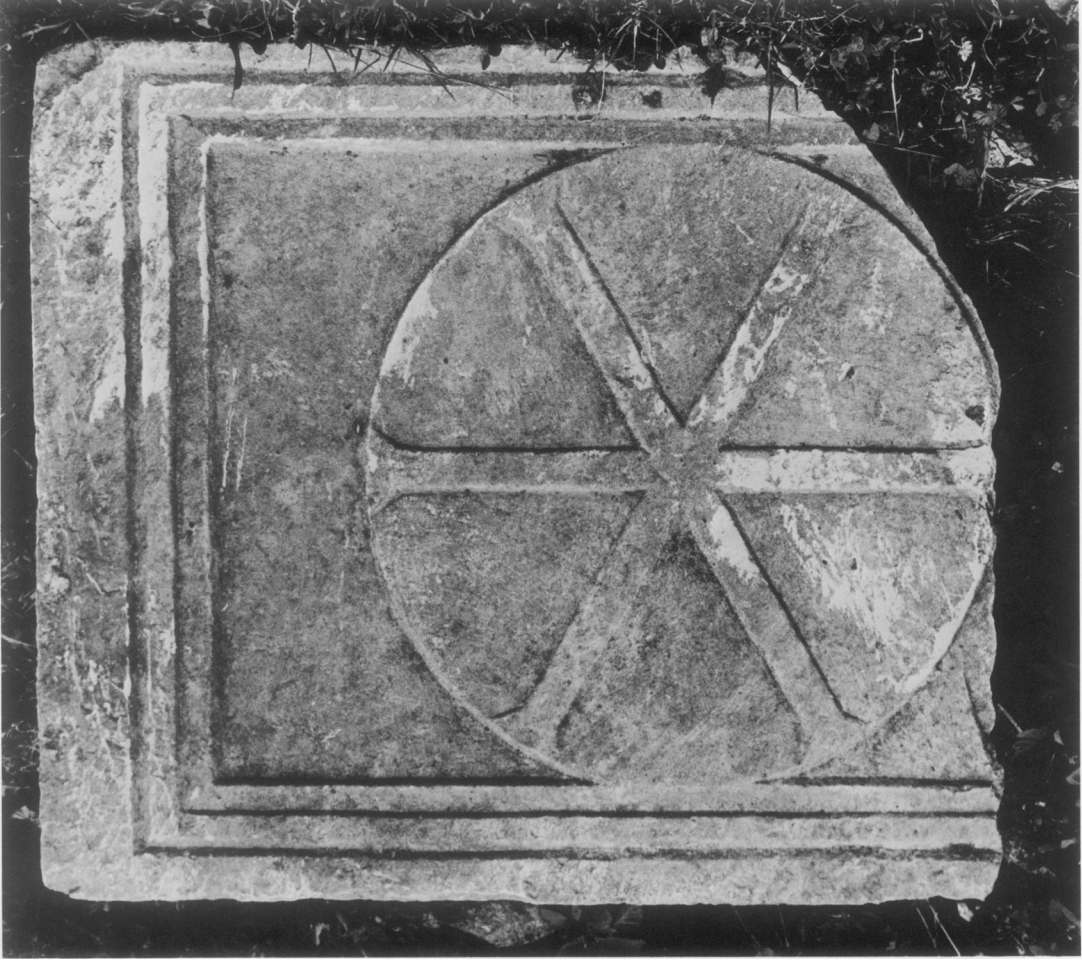
151. Gate, Lunette. Inscriptions



152. Courtyard, Ionic Impost Capital



153. Side A



154. Side B

Kurşunlu Monastery. Parapet Slab, Fragment

## III. SOME REMARKS ON ARCHITECTURE

The churches we have been studying in this paper belong to three architectural types: basilica on piers (Medikion), cross-in-square (Fatih Camii, Pelekete, Kurşunlu), and extended cross-in-square (Kemerli Kilise). Regarding the first, we refrain from comment pending an examination of whatever remains may still be in existence.<sup>191a</sup> The cross-in-square or four-column churches (to avoid the hideous term 'quincunx' that has gained some currency in recent years) raise a more interesting question. None of these churches is strictly dated, yet there is considerable circumstantial evidence that we are dealing with monuments of the late eighth or early ninth century.<sup>192</sup> Pelekete was rebuilt at about this time: Megas Agros, if it is the same as the monastery at Kurşunlu, was founded *ca.* 785, and, if Kurşunlu is the same as Polichnion, it was in existence by 781; the monastery of Trigleia, if it is the same as Fatih Camii, was in existence by 815. The last exhibits a number of unusual, probably archaic features, such as the single barrel vault (instead of the normal three vaulted bays) that covers the narthex, the projection of the prothesis beyond the line of the north wall,<sup>193</sup> and the fact that—if Hasluck's plan is to be trusted—the apses of the pastophoria protruded further to the east than the main apse. There is, furthermore, ample evidence in contemporary saints' *Vitae*, such as those of St. Niketas of Medikion, St. Ioannikios, and St. Peter of Atroa, of an intensive building of monasteries in Bithynia, beginning about 780 and continuing through the first half of the ninth century.

Historians of Byzantine architecture may be surprised by our early dating of these

monuments, since it is generally held that the first clearly documented example of a cross-in-square church was the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I (880) and the earliest standing example the Theotokos church of the monastery of Lips (907).<sup>194</sup> The latter can hardly be regarded, however, as marking an early stage in the evolution of the type: it is, with its roof chapels, cantilevered passageways, and scalloped pastophoria, a highly complex building. There are, indeed, several indications that four-column churches were current at an earlier date: it is enough to quote here the church at Side which is prior, perhaps by a considerable period, to the ninth century.<sup>195</sup>

Another consideration that has not been generally taken into account is that the construction of four-column churches depended on the supply of column shafts and large capitals. In all three churches of this group that we have been studying these elements are reused. Even in a church as luxurious as that of the monastery of Lips the large capitals have been taken from a building of the fifth century and carefully mended, while the marble blocks used for the cornice were removed from a pagan cemetery of Cyzicus.<sup>196</sup> This suggests to us that the quarries of Prokonnesos may not have been exploited at the time or, perhaps, exploited on a very small scale.<sup>197</sup> The area of Trigleia and Sigriane, being situated very close to the ruins of Cyzicus, had a ready supply of large marble elements, and this may explain the early adoption there of the four-column type.

The Kemerli Kilise is interesting in another context since in some respects—the length-

<sup>191a</sup> Nothing remains of the foundations of the Medikion church on the surface. See Additional Note *infra*.

<sup>192</sup> Hasluck, "Bithynica" (as in note 2 *supra*), 290, had already suggested that the Fatih Camii was built between 780 and 813, but he did so for the wrong reasons.

<sup>193</sup> One may imagine that originally there were side aisles, somewhat after the manner of the Koimesis church at Nicaea and St. Sophia, Thessalonica, in both of which, however, the pastophoria open into the aisles. A more thorough examination of the building may throw some light on this question.

<sup>194</sup> R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 245ff., who misdates the Nea to 881 and the Theotokos church to *ca.* 930 (p. 263).

<sup>195</sup> See S. Eyice, "L'église cruciforme byzantine de Side en Pamphylie," *Anatolia*, 3 (1958), 35ff.

<sup>196</sup> See C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins in *DOP*, 18 (1964), 303f.; 22 (1968), 182.

<sup>197</sup> A study of these quarries has recently been initiated by Dr. Nezih Firatlı of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. C. M. was privileged to visit them in Dr. Firatlı's company in the autumn of 1972 and did not observe any evidence of mediaeval exploitation later than the sixth century.



ening of the nave and the presence of six, instead of the traditional four columns—it offers an analogy to the so-called “Mistra type.”<sup>198</sup> One may note also the interpenetration of nave and sanctuary areas<sup>199</sup> which Millet considered a distinguishing feature of the Greek as opposed to the Constantinopolitan school.<sup>200</sup> We have already commented on the use of sawtooth which is particularly common in Greece. These considerations may be taken, within the terms of Millet’s classification, to indicate a Greek influence on Kemerli Kilise. For the present, however, it would be wiser not to make any such assertion since our knowledge of Lascarid architecture in Asia Minor is almost nil, not to speak of the questionable validity of Millet’s regional “schools.”

A final point of interest concerns the type of masonry used in the Kemerli Kilise. The traditional Byzantine system, such as we have encountered it at Pelekete and Kurşunlu, was the *parement arasé*, consisting of (usually) five successive courses of brick alternating with several courses of stone. This method began to be modified in the eleventh century, first, by the introduction of the “concealed” brick courses,<sup>201</sup> and second, by a more haphazard alternation of brick and stone. The domed pastophoria of St. Sophia at Nicaea (fig. 147), which Schneider ascribes to the eleventh century,<sup>202</sup> although their masonry would appear on

<sup>198</sup> See H. Hallensleben, “Untersuchungen zur Genesis und Typologie des ‘Mistratypus,’” *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 18 (1969), 105 ff., who challenges some previously held views. An important monument in this connection is the Süleyman Paşa Camii at Vize dated roughly in the ninth century by C. Mango, “The Byzantine Church at Vize . . .,” *ZVI*, 11 (1968), 9 ff., and in the thirteenth-fourteenth century (because of its similarity to the “Mistra type”) by S. Eyice, “Les monuments byzantins de la Thrace turque,” *Corsi Rav*, 18 (1971), 293 ff. The large size of this church, its heavy proportions and stark exterior, entirely devoid of plastic articulation and ornament, speak against a late date.

<sup>199</sup> The eastern arm of the cross was clearly included within the sanctuary. The *templon* must have followed the line of the two eastern columns as shown by Covell (fig. 2).

<sup>200</sup> *L'école grecque* (as in note 34 *supra*), 55 ff.

<sup>201</sup> See p. 122 *supra*.

<sup>202</sup> *Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea* (Berlin, 1943), 14 f.

first sight to be of later date, demonstrate this new trend in Bithynia.<sup>203</sup> Here the stone is laid in single courses, separated, by one, two, or three courses of brick. This, essentially, is the system employed in the Kemerli Kilise, and it reappears in certain Palaeologan buildings at Istanbul, such as the south church of the monastery of Lips and the outer narthex of Kilise (Molla Gürani) Camii. The prevalence of this kind of construction in Bithynia is particularly significant since it was in Bithynia that the Ottoman state was founded and Ottoman architecture formed. It is not surprising, therefore, that the earliest major Ottoman mosque that has come down to us in good condition, the Muradiye Camii at Çekirge (Bursa) of ca. 1366–85, should exhibit this characteristic late Byzantine kind of masonry (single courses of stone alternating with three courses of brick) and even strings of sawtooth used as a framing motif for arches.<sup>204</sup> Once adopted by the Turks, this technique continued to be widely used as late as the eighteenth century.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE

In late May of 1973, Ihor Ševčenko made a brief visit to Medikion near Tirilye and Kurşunlu—previously inspected by both of us—as well as to the village of Dutlimani situated between Bandırma and Yenice, which we had not visited in 1968–72. The following remarks are intended to complement the information contained in our article.

##### 1. Site of the Monastery of Medikion<sup>205</sup>

At present, the site of the monastery (cf. fig. 148 for a general view from the north-west) is used as a chicken farm. Nothing remains from the basilical *katholikon* described by Covell, Hasluck, and Pančenko. According

<sup>203</sup> Cf. also for the thirteenth century the Lascarid palace at Nymphaion, the upper portion of which is built of single courses of irregular stones, often separated by vertical bricks, and an uneven number (one to five) of brick courses: S. Eyice, “İzmir yakınında Kemalpaşa (Nif) da Laskaris’ler sarayı,” *Belle-ten, Türk Tarih Kurumu*, 25 (1961), 1 ff.

<sup>204</sup> See A. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque: Brousse-Bursa* (Paris, 1958), I, 56, 60; II, pl. xv ff.

<sup>205</sup> See pp. 240–42 *supra*.

to one local informant,<sup>206</sup> a large building (presumably the church of Medikion) was still on the site of the monastery as late as 1942; at that time the building was occupied by the military. In 1951 or 1952, a printing shop was constructed at Tirilye from the stones of the structure. The present owner of the site, Orhan Gazi, bought it in 1953. In 1972, he erected the large chickenhouse on the emplacement of the razed building so that that emplacement is now "inside the chickenhouse and toward the middle of it." The present compound follows the line of old walls, which, as we shall presently see, must date from 1801 at the latest; its approximate length is 70 meters, and its width 40 meters.

The only preserved Byzantine remains of Medikion seen in 1973 were parts of the monastery gate and an Ionic impost capital. The gate (cf. fig. 149) has two inscriptions in its lunette (cf. fig. 151). The larger inscription, which has been recorded with varying degrees of precision by Hasluck and Pančenko, refers to a restoration of the monastery "from the very foundations" in 1801.<sup>207</sup> However, the wall on both sides of the gate, up to the level of the wooden lintel, seems to be late Byzantine or early Turkish, as it is made of alternating courses of brick (one to three bricks thick) and of stone, with some bricks standing upright; the wall above, of irregular construction, may be considerably later. Still, it is remarkable that the *mâchicoulis* over the gate (it has its counterpart on the inside of the gate) should have been constructed as late as 1801, when the monks could no longer have entertained thoughts of resisting an enemy. Such features are more likely to have been put up in times of mounting Turkish danger, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The second inscription (fig. 150) was inserted in the lunette above the one of 1801, probably in that same year. It escaped Hasluck and Pančenko, perhaps because it was plastered over in their time. We reproduce it here:

<sup>206</sup> An officer of the Belediye of Tirilye, Mr. Haşim Aksöz.

<sup>207</sup> Hasluck: *Cyzicus*..., p. 61; Pančenko, *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 274; cf. p. 241 and notes 40 and 42 *supra*. The inscription is now partly whitewashed; we tried to clean it up. It runs as follows: 1801 κατα μήνα Μάιον | ἀνακενίσθη ἐν βαθρον ὃ παρούσα μωνή τοῦ Μιδηκιῶν.

#### Funerary Inscriptions of Maximos

Reused part of marble architrave, cut to accommodate the inscription; height 0.13 m.; length 0.67 m.; height of letters 0.015–0.025 m.; cross centered in upper part of block (this cross is contemporary with the inscription, as line 2 runs over its lower part).

Letters: μ; Ζ; □; Γ; V; Ψ and Ω.

Date: fifth century?

- 1 ΟΙΩΝΙΟΝ οἰκο cross ς Μαξιμου και
- 2 Ευστρογης ω γα<μ>β<ρ>ος μου κυνον  
[ουδεν εχι εις το μιμωριν τουτο· το εν
- 3 τη γυναικι και τοις τεκνοις
- 4 τηδιον το εθηκεν εν τω μιμωριω  
[χαριν αυτου επιησα]

To make sense of this inscription, which we consider to be essentially complete, we propose to read its lines in the sequence 1, 3 (lines containing large letters), followed by 2, 4 (lines containing small letters), and offer the following tentative translation:

"Permanent abode of Maximos and for his wife and children. Eustorgios my son-in-law [?] has nothing in common with this tomb; the one child which he deposited in the tomb, I did it as a favor to it [him?]."

We imagine that Maximos' inscription first contained lines 1 and 3 only; in the usual fashion, he reserved his tomb for himself, his wife, and children. At some later date, one of his grandchildren died and was buried in the tomb. To make sure that this precedent would give no right of burial to his son-in-law Eustorgios, Maximos added lines 2 and 4 of the inscription. In spite of his name, Eustorgios must have been disliked by his father-in-law.

1: ΟΙΩΝΙΟΝ or ΙΩΝΙΟΝ, if the first O is an ornament, corresponding to a similar feature at the right end of line 1, presents difficulties. We conjecture that it stands for ὁ αἰώνιος.

On οἶκος as a technical term for a tomb or a part of a tomb, cf. J. Kubińska, *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Warsaw, 1968), 113–14, and *passim*; see index *s.v.* For the formula "eternal abode" on tombs, cf. J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein, "Bericht über eine

zweite Reise in Lydien," *Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien*, 44 (1911), no. 155, line 2: εἰς ἐώνειον οἶκον, and four further examples (one of them Christian), *ibid.* Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigraphique* (1972), no. 507.

2: Ευστρογης stands for Εὐστόργιος, and ω γαβος for ὁ γαμβρός. The word is sometimes misspelled; cf. γμβρός, γρυβρός in Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, nos. 153, 154.

μυμόριον: for μυημόριον "tomb," cf., e.g., J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epigraphique* (1972), nos. 453 and 473, and the μεμόριον of a deacon, *BCH*, 17 (1893), 290 (Phrygia), and of a layman, *MAMA*, 5 (1937), no. 77 and pl. 28 (area of Eskişehir); cf. Keil-Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, no. 174 (μυημόριον).

4: For the spellings πηδίων and ἐπύησα, cf. our article, "Some Recently Acquired Byzantine Inscriptions at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum," in *Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* (1973), commentary to nos. 13, line 7, 16, line 3, and 28, lines 3/4. Cf. also ἐπύησαν in an inscription from Phrygia, *BCH*, 17 (1893), 289 = no. 96.

The Maximos inscription, which we date to the fifth century, must have come from the site, or at least the vicinity, of Medikion, and attests to the existence of a burial ground there centuries before the foundation of the monastery by Nikephoros.

The large Ionic impost capital (fig. 152) lying today in the court of the present enclosure tells a similar story, as it attests to the existence of a large sixth-century<sup>208</sup> church on or near the site of Medikion. This church, we believe, was the very church of St. Michael which Nikephoros, the founder of Medikion, found in ruins and which he rebuilt as the core of his new foundation ca. 780.<sup>209</sup> In his reconstruction, Nikephoros

<sup>208</sup> For parallels to our capital, cf. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (as in note 85 *supra*), no. 566<sup>e</sup> (Ephesus); I. Nikolačević-Stojković, *Ranovizantijska arhitektonska dekorativna plastika u Makedoniji, Srbiji i Crnoj Gori* (Belgrade, 1957), fig. 65 (Stobi); *eadem*, "Chapiteaux de Caričin Grad," *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès d'Etudes Byzantines* (Istanbul, 1957), fig. 1 (Caričin Grad). Ionic impost capitals are dated to the first half of the sixth century, cf. F. W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels* (Baden-Baden, 1956), 48–49.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Halkin, "La Vie de St. Nicéphore" (as in note 45 *supra*) and p. 241 *supra*.

must have followed the plan of St. Michael's. In such a way, the truncated basilical form of Medikion's *katholikon* would find its most natural explanation.

## 2. Kurşunlu: Village and Mehmet Köse's Farm<sup>210</sup>

In the village a fragment of the base of an antique altar or a statue (lower dimensions: 0.83 × 0.86 m.) was recorded. At present, it stands near the village fountain, but it was brought there from Mehmet Köse's farm. There it may have served as the base for the altar in the bema of the church.

In the courtyard of Lokman Bey's house a roundel of green marble, probably a part of an *opus sectile* pavement, was recorded. The remnants of the pavement *in situ* behind the house (cf. p. 249 *supra*) have been almost entirely destroyed, with one tiny fragment and some mortar bed remaining.

The most interesting new find at Mehmet Köse's farm, the putative site of Megas Agros or Polichnion, was a fragment of a parapet slab carved on both sides. It was discovered southeast of the church, near a big fallen fragment of the church wall. The ornament on both sides seems to be contemporary. On one side (cf. fig. 153) is carved a cross with flaring arms and circular loops attached to the ends. Two leaves sprout from its base. On the other side (cf. fig. 154) is a simplified chrismon in a disk.<sup>211</sup> Although we are aware of the pitfalls in dating Byzantine carved slabs between the sixth and the late ninth centuries,<sup>212</sup> we are tempted to connect our

<sup>210</sup> Kurşunlu was visited in the welcome company of Dr. Nezih Fıratlı of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.

<sup>211</sup> Dimensions of the fragment: maximum height 0.77 m.; maximum length 0.66 m.; thickness 0.075 m.; diameter of disk 0.50 m.; length of existing upright arm of the cross 0.63 m.

<sup>212</sup> With the exception of two recently discovered (gallery?) slab fragments from St. Irene at Istanbul, datable to the years 741–75, there is no securely dated Byzantine carved slab between the late sixth century and the year 873–74 (church of Skripou, Boeotia). Cf. Thilo Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes (Schränkenplatten des 4.–10. Jahrhunderts)* (Munich, 1969), 46 and 61–62. On the slabs of St. Irene, cf. also *idem*, "Untersuchungen zu den byzantinischen Reliefplatten des 6. bis 8. Jahrhunderts," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 19/20 (1969–70), 349–50 and pl. 72.

slab with the original church structures of Polichnion or Megas Agros, that is, with the period between 760 and 800.

Among other objects recorded at the farm, we may mention a fifth-century capital (in a field southeast of the house) and a cross carved in relief on a square of marble (side: 0.17 m.) and immured into one of the buttresses of the retaining wall at the seashore.

The ruins situated southwest and uphill from the farm, which may be those of the monastery of Christopher (see pp. 258 and 261 *supra*) are now completely overgrown; the growth obscures the fact that originally the complex looked down on a perfect little harbor which connected it with the outside world.

Sculptural fragments from the farm which in 1972 were preserved in the garden of the municipal building of Karacabey (see p. 257 above) are no longer there; reportedly, they are now in the possession of the kaymakam of that town. In the garden of the municipality, only one inscription which had not been previously there was found; it mentions the Emperor Trajan.<sup>213</sup>

### 3. Dutlimanı (Sykamia)

The small settlement of Dutlimanı (40 houses, 250 inhabitants—some of them resettled from Drama in Greece after 1922) communicates with the outside world mostly by sea, as the road from Bandırma, not quite completed, is not passable by car in bad weather. Dutlimanı is the former Greek village of Sykamia, briefly visited by Pančenko in 1910. In Pančenko's time, Sykamia was merely thirty to forty years old, but it must have been settled on an old site, for he found some, though few, Byzantine remains there.<sup>214</sup> Today nothing remains of

<sup>213</sup> It is a relief with the lower part of the figure of the Emperor above the inscription, and a row of chlamydati and a dance scene below it. Dimensions: height 0.895 m.; width 0.51 m.; thickness, 0.14 m. The first two lines run: Ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος [Τ]ραϊαν[οῦ καὶ] | σαρῶν νείκης κ(αὶ) αἰωνίου διαμονῆς.

<sup>214</sup> *IRAIK*, 15 (1911), 262–64. The *Calendar of the National Philanthropic Establishments for 1905* (see p. 263 and note 136 *supra*), 181, mentions the village "Skamniais" and records a "most ancient church of St. George" there—apparently functioning. However, Pančenko

the jetty and the Byzantine tower which were the main ruins noticed by Pančenko. According to a local informant, the site of the tower is now covered by the school, a barrack made of sheet metal situated near the shore. A new breakwater is being constructed near the school, and fragments of a mullion (0.49 m. high, 0.39 m. wide, and 0.20 m. thick) and a doorpost with moldings lay among stones to be used in the construction. Near the school were found a fifth-century capital and two fragments of a Late Antique tomb, one of which bore the inscription [κατεσκε]ύασεν ἑαυτῇ. Its lettering points to a third-century date.<sup>215</sup> The *kastron* on the seashore was the second ruin described by Pančenko. Its site seems to lie about three-quarters of a mile east of Dutlimanı. All that was found there was a column shaft of grey stone and a fragment of worked marble (entablature?). Worked stones lying under water may be the remnants of a harbor. A plateau, now a wheat field, extending above the shoreline of the "harbor" may have been the site of that *kastron*, unless it is that of the monastery of St. Theodore, the ruins of which, according to Pančenko, were dismantled in 1909–10.

In the village proper were to be seen a *foliis* of Justinian struck in Cyzicus in 546; a fragment of a capital, identical with that found at the school, lying in a courtyard; and two inscribed marble slabs of the past century, one being a tombstone, one probably commemorating a construction.<sup>216</sup> Both stones were imbedded in thresholds of houses; we were told that they come from "the monastery," surely that of St. Theodore. In conclusion, Dutlimanı stands on or near a Byzantine site. Judging by our brief visit, this site was not significant and there is no reason to look for Theophanes' Hiereia there.

spoke only of a "new, utterly poor church" and stated that ruins considered by the local peasants to be those of a church were in fact those of a tower. He does admit that some foundations near the ruins of the tower "may" have belonged to a church.

<sup>215</sup> Dimensions of the inscribed fragment: height 0.027 m., length 0.84 m., height of letters 0.05 m.

<sup>216</sup> The tombstone is of 1884; the other inscription runs: ὑπὸ ἡγουμένου Νικηφόρου Ἡλιάδου ἀγ<ού>σ. 6 1894.